

REMEMBER POLAND

R. H. ANTOSZEWSKI

1918

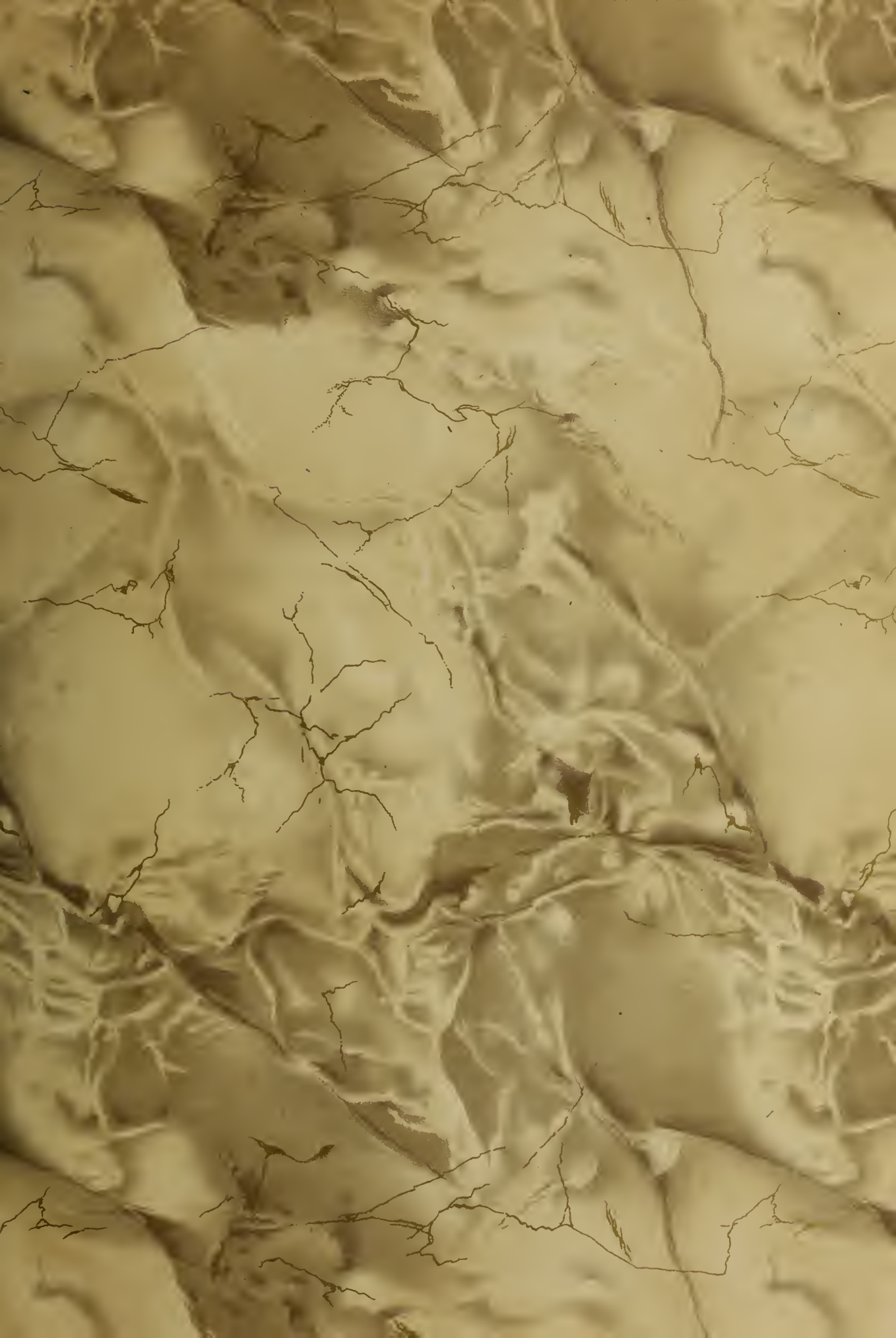
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REMEMBER POLAND

Senior Thesis

Submitted by

Robert Horatio Antoszewski


University of Illinois

June 1918.

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To
My Alma Mater

Finley 11/12/24
President Edmund Janes James for his unfailing cheerfulness and constant activity; Dean Kendrick Charles Babcock for his sympathetic encouragement; Dean Thomas Arkle Clark for his helpful advice; Dr. Charles Leslie Stewart for his patient interest; Lew R. Sarrett for his stimulating insoiration; Dr. Albert Howe Lybyer for his painstaking suggestions;

Delta Sigma Rho for its fraternal strength and uplifting guidance; to the Cosmopolitan Club for its high ideals and social brotherhood; to the Adelpic Literary Society for its audience in speaking; to the Scribblers Club for its criticism in writing;

7 July 1924 9. dir.
My fellow students at war, and to all those interested in the cause of Poland, the Columbia of Europe, which is that of undying liberty and eternal freedom, this effort is humbly dedicated.

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PREFACE.

The first and last of these essays were used as orations in inter-collegiate contests. "The Unconquered Spirit of Poland" was delivered in the Northern Oratorical League contest at this University May 5, 1916. It has been delivered to over seventy audiences of clubs, schools, churches, etc. and printed fourteen times in papers, magazines and pamphlets.

"Peace Through Poland" was delivered in the State Peace contest at Chicago, April 13, 1917. "John Sobieski" and "Poland and the Great War" were written in connection with history courses 1917 and 1918, Urbana. "Polish Immigration in the United States" was written in Evanston in the summer of 1917, while the "Partitions of Poland" was finished after leaving the University to enlist in the V. S. N. R. F.

My object in being so persistently interested in the Polish question while at the University is three-fold. First, because Poland's cause is that of freedom and liberty; second, because this war has brought Poland to a place where her situation in the final reckoning will play an important part; and last, because the American people, in or out of college, do not appreciate Poland's contribution to humanity or the terrible suffering she has heroically sustained in this present conflict.

These essays are not submitted to be examined and analyzed as literary masterpieces. I have simply made an effort while earning my way unaided through the University to keep alive the spark

of enthusiasm I have for Poland; and if I may dare to hope to attract the passing glance of someone who may through his genius of pen or tongue immortalize this story, I shall feel well paid. I firmly believe that the gigantic injustice meted out to Poland, that her particularly tragic situation, her trampled people, her unfortunate land, shall some day be again a happy and free Republic; but by the help of the true God and some inspired poet the eyes of the world must first be opened to this crime.

I have used the best authorities, the facts are according to them correct and unexaggerated, while most of the conclusions are my own. I have read or scanned everything in English on this subject at the University and Chicago libraries both through the Readers' Guide and in the form of books and historical works, especially that which pertained to the specific essay with which I was concerned. I have omitted for convenience all outlines and the bibliography. The poems inserted are those believed to be most appropriate.

F. H. Antoszewski.

Glencoe, Illinois.

June 3, 1913.

REMEMBER POLAND
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by

Robert Horatio Antoszewski.

I.

The Unconquered Spirit of Poland.

II.

John Sobieski.

III.

The Partitions of Poland.

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VI.

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I

THE UNCONQUERED SPIRIT OF POLAND.

POLAND.

How long, O God, shall men be ridden down,
And trampled under by the last and least
Of men? The heart of Poland hath not ceased
To quiver, tho' her sacred blood doth drown
The fields, and out of every smouldering town
Cries to Thee, lest brute Power be increased,
Till that o'ergrown Barbarian in the East
Transgress his ample bound to gain new crown,-
Cries to Thee, 'Lord, how long shall these things be?
How long this icy-hearted Muscovite
Oppress the region? Us, O Just and Good,
Forgive, who smiled when she was torn in three;
Us, who stand now, when we should aid the right-
A matter to be wept with tears of blood!

Lord Tennyson.

THE UNCONQUERED SPIRIT OF POLAND.

When spirit ceases, then men and nations die. The history of an age is but a record of the sublime spirit of its heroes. Without the ardor of dynamic spirit behind each peasant's garb, the French Revolution would have come to naught. Without the energy of an undying spirit in the hearts of her clansmen, Switzerland would not today be a republic; without the force of ambitious spirit Napoleon would have lost his first battle; Joan of Arc perished amid her enemies; Cromwell's state died at its birth. The spirit of '76 freed the American Colonies; that same unconquerable spirit, in the face of unparalleled national tragedy, has preserved the Polish nation. Nation? Yes; for a nation is not determined by geographical lines, but by the intensity and unity of her spirit.

Switzerland defended herself against oppression from behind the highest mountains in Europe. The Thirteen Colonies fought off tyranny across the Atlantic ocean. Switzerland was successful in resisting the onslaught of one nation, Austria, and the world has applauded her. The Colonies, after years of bloodshed, repulsed one nation, England, and their valiant victory has been immortalized. But Poland, for centuries the arena of Europe, the battle-field of the world, has heroically struggled against an ever-tightening circle of encroaching foes. Poland, possessing no natural barriers, has been swept into the maelstrom of serfdom, has been unrecognized, yes, buffeted by the prejudices of civilization. Though her body be torn by the heels of cruel tyrants; though her garments be rent by the ghouls of greed; though her soul be maligned by the pen of false historians: yet the star of her heroic spirit gleams through the dark, unconquered.

Stand in the center of Poland and you are at the pivot of Europe. Here twenty millions of people for centuries breathed and lived and worked. From France came Huguenots; from Spain came the victims of the Inquisition. Pilgrims journeyed from Britain; Jew and Gentile worshiped in peace; for here, and only here, they had religious freedom. Not since Greece, had any country dared a republican government. Here, surrounded by historic storm, a great and free Republic for generations reigned supreme.

During these centuries the heroes of Poland did much for Europe and civilization. Amid the peace and quiet of the hour, suddenly throughout Europe a cry of alarm ran from village to village from door to door. Europe trembled and cried out, "To arms, to arms! The Turk is at the door!" In this crisis one man stepped forward, and with his soldiers routed the hordes of barbarism. That man was Sobieski, and the soldiers were the men of Poland. The followers of the Crescent had for years been pounding at the door. Every time the Moslem chieftains hurled their pitiless hordes against Europe's postern gate the cry rang out, "To arms! the Saracens! they come! Poland to the rescue!" and each time her brave warriors bared their breasts and stemmed the flood. They, fighting for home and country, - they, bleeding for wife and child, - fought for all Europe, died for humanity, and saved Christianity itself from the unbelievers' yoke.

What thanks? Poland has been termed the door-mat of Europe. But such ingratitude cannot lessen the luster of Poland's victory, nor can it diminish the world-wide respect and admiration for her great men. History shall write their names upon the highest pinnacle of fame, for in peace and war alike the sons of Poland stand among the blest. Copernicus, the father of astronomy discovered

the place of our earth in the solar system. Poland's music plays upon the feelings with an intermingled pathos of mother-love, of country-love, of anguish and despair that thrills and ever shall thrill prince and peasant alike. No musicians are better known today than Paderewski and Chopin. Poland's literature, born out of centuries of untold hardships, displays today a vividness, a patriotic trust that has been awarded such honors as the Nobel price. No European novelist has been more read than Sienkiewicz. Empires rise and fall, fire and water and war destroy, man feeds upon the earth and crawls into the grave; but the spirit of Poland lives in her heroes to the end of time.

Not only in peace have these people been great; but they have also been great in war. Thus a people of fighters have been rightly termed "Knight among nations", not through their love of fame and conquest, but through their love of freedom. What does history say of Napoleon's Polish battalions? What of Pulaski's sacrifice for America in the Revolution? Of his noble stand, and nobler death? What of Kosciuszko's sword offered freely in behalf of America's Independence? The very walls of West Point are a monument to his ability. Even though you have forgotten this, you build statues to him in your cities and in your national capital; you honor his name, admire his military genius, and thus pay homage to the spirit of Poland.

The record of Polish heroes is not confined to her men alone. The spirit lives, and has lived, as strongly in her women, whose page in the annals of fame is undimmed. Modjeska had for her stage, not Europe but the world. Madame Sembrich has sung the Polish spirit into the hearts of Europe and America. And to a daughter of Poland, Madame Curie, belongs the honor of the greatest scientific

discovery of the age. Why speak of more?

Why speak of more? Because today the heroes of this gigantic war are not within French trenches or behind the German guns, are not on England's ships, nor in the Alpine fortresses of Italy; nor are they beneath the poisoned lowlands of Belgium, nor on the bloody hills of Serbia,- but on the unprotected, helpless plains of Poland. I see before me an unfortunate creature; no artist could paint her countenance; no pen portray those lines of sorrow and despair. Her head is bowed, her shoulders bent, her tattered rags reveal a sunken breast. The famished child wants food, but she has only tears to give, and soon the icy wind will stop those tears, and the white snow form a blanket of eternal warmth. Look,- once a sheltered home - a hut is smoldering in ashes. Look again; ever on, and on, others and others silently smouldering and mingling with the snow flakes. Across the plain I see a myriad of flaming homes, of weeping mothers and their dying babes, of ruined churches, of wrecked factories; a multitude of towns, a thousand cities, twenty million souls,- like the countless snowflakes that hover above them. And on this tragic plain I see the foot-prints of two armies vanishing beyond the grey horizon. That woman's husband was in one army, her father in the other. Each fought for an enemy, and bled, and died; they killed each other - there they lie - Russian saber, Prussian helmet, and Polish upturned faces. O most atrocious crime! O unparalleled wrong! Must Poland pay for the wrongs of others, not by partition only, but by ignoble death!

The breach made by the partition of Poland has widened until today the powers of Europe stand tottering on its awful brink. England is beginning to see her mortal mistake, for a century ago had

she interferred in the criminal barter perpetrated by the three partitioners, her position in the European war would be different today. Russia's policy to absorb her Polish subjects by sending them to Siberian mines, or prohibiting Polish literature has utterly failed. Prussia's efforts to kill the Polish language by torturing and beating school children because they pray in their mother-tongue, her war for the absorption of an alien people has been completely frustrated. They have failed to penetrate the ever living spirit of Poland.

And now the darkest hour of Poland is at hand. Once Poland struggled to save her boundaries, she struggles now to save a race. Once Poland fought for liberty and freedom, she fights now for life. A century ago she looked to Christianity for national integrity; now she looks to humanity for recognition. What will the answer be? As the European powers attempted to crush Poland in the past, they are doing their utmost to annihilate her today. Can the people long survive whose sons are conscripted to throttle their own race? Can a nation long endure whose children have perished for want of food? Surrounded by relentless foes, cut off from the outside world, the voice of Poland rises above the din of battle, asks, appeals, pleads, to civilization for mercy. This hour her people are forced to death; if not by sword, then by starvation. What drama in history has paralleled this? Surely not the French Revolution, nor the struggle of Switzerland, nor America's fight for independence. This is not war, this is butchery; not fighting, but annihilation.

What does this mean to America? We cannot stop the war; but we can send relief to the perishing millions. What will your

answer be? America has helped Belgium, will she let an area seven times as great go unaided; - let millions starve where thousands suffered? I see the answer in your faces! The resolute, the unconquered spirit of Poland has touched kindred spirits! You will not forsake a nation in its hour of need. You will not despise Polish heroes, Polish ideals, Polish principles, in her weakest hour. You recognize Polish heroes as champions of humanity. You sympathize with Poland's ideals as those of Christendom. You uphold Poland's principles as those of civilization, of what it stood for and shall ever stand for. Poland's spirit shall not die. Unconquered, it shall be resurrected! Then let Americans rouse themselves at the bidding of Conscience and Christianity; let them touch hands with the four million sons of Poland in this country and answer the cry. Let them strengthen noble hearts, respond to brave spirits, give aid to starving bodies. Clothes for the naked! Bread for the famishing. Seed for the farmer! Help mothers to give their children more than tears! Let civilized humanity remember a country where right is a sacred hope, and freedom a passion. Let America remember a land which aided in her material and moral upbuilding. Then may Poland by the aid of united America outlive this darkest hour. Abstract sympathies alone are useless. Act!

I appeal to you for Poland, whose enlightened laws, whose constitutional government, whose ideals of democracy, whose religious tolerance, where the forerunners of American Independence. I appeal to you for Poland ~~and~~ whose heroes in war saved Europe from Eastern invasion, helped America in her time of utmost need, and whose heroes in peace achieved high honors in every realm of human activity. I appeal to you for Poland's men now slaughtered

in battle, her women disgraced and cruelly massacred, her children starved and dead. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in the name of Him who bore the cruel crown, I make this appeal, that, "tho the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken," the unconquered spirit of Poland shall pierce the darkness of tyrannical oppression, and, by the blessing of God, live in peace and joy and happiness forever!

II

JOHN SOBIESKI.

POLAND, 1683-1915

THY valor, Poland, stemmed the tide of fate
Onrushing from the east in olden days,
When proud Vienna saw with dread amaze,
Vast Turkish hosts before her walls, elate
In victor pride, inflamed with zealot hate!

Then Sobiecki did thy banner raise
Triumphant, bore it through the battle blaze,
And saved from Crescent rule the Christian State!

And what was thy reward, O Land of Woe?
'Twas thine to see thy kingdom torn and rent,
And all proud and vanquished people know
Whose necks beneath a conqueror's yoke are bent!
Yet thou has kept through all thy centuried night
An altar flaming clear with Freedom's light!

And now again the tide of war has swept
In mightiest wave the world has ever known
Across the plains by battle scarred, and prone
A Nation lies! War's fury that long slept
To greater madness waked! The bounds it kept
In older times are swept away, and strown
They fields are with thy dead, while moan
Of dying men shows where War's cohorts stept!

And Warsaw fair, where slow the Vistula flows,
Where Kosciusko fell in Freedom's cause,
Now once again a conqueror's presence knows
While issue vast that all the world now awes
Hangs trembling in the balance stern of fate
Whose dread decree all Nations now await!

H. F. Sudduth, in New York Press.

John Sobieski .

Count Plotter translated from the Polish into French a small volume of letters John Sobieski wrote to his wife in which he described his daily progress to the relief of Vienna, its battles, and its successes, upon which the salvation of Europe seemed to depend. It shows the noble, simple character of this hero and his heroic bearing in the presence of the constant fearful danger which would have reduced not only Austria, but the whole of South Europe to the condition Bulgaria and Bosnia were in at this time. Yet to understand these letters they should be supplemented by accounts of the general conditions at this time, and better still by a description of Poland and its bounding countries at the time of his early youth. A great deal might be said of the time he lived in, but as is true of many heroes, especially warriors, little is known of Sobieski's childhood or early experiences. Certain it is that he lived in a world of turmoil, of fighting and constant struggle, and in a country whose sad history has been the tragedy of Europe, yet whose people showed in his day as they have done ever since, a spirit of national pride, a feeling of intense desire for freedom, and a hope for ultimate liberty that has astonished the world. Perhaps John III made a failure of his private life and ruled his kingdom with a wavering hand, but heroes of the warrior type can hardly be studied exclusively from their correspondence with their wives or their methods of ruling; rather do they owe their place in history to one or more outstanding incidents in which is centered a supreme act, an hour of victory, a moment of triumph,

or a superhuman effort that places them forever among the masters of human achievement. So it was with John III, to day a soldier, tomorrow ^{the} saviour of his country.

Born four years after the first Pilgrims landed in New England, at a time when the Great Gustavus Adolphus was invading Pomerania, and Turenne, Conde, and Wallenstein were devastating Germany, and Cromwell was struggling for a footing in Parliament; in an age of civil war, chaos, suffering, rotten diplomacy, court intrigue, pomp, and vain glory; he chose from his earliest years the life of the soldier. Indeed the military life at this time offered unusual opportunities to a young man who was ambitious to distinguish himself, and possibly more so in the case of Sobieski because his country was not only continually beset by Turkish invasions, but border fighting on all sides of the vast unguarded Polish Empire was at this time the common order of events.

At this time the government of Poland might be termed a legalized anarchy with all too apparent indications of rebellion. Altho it had lost much of its former gigantic proportions it was still one of the largest states of Europe. Its territory stretched from the Baltic on the north to Moldavia on the south and included most of the vast plain between the Oder and Dnieper Rivers. It could hardly be said to have yet reached the place where it lived only because its neighbors could not agree on its division, but rather because they were not yet quite strong and big enough to be sure of its overthrow. But at this time, the middle of the seventeenth century, before Sobieski had made his great triumphs its decline dating back almost a century to the time when the

government was changed from an hereditary to an elective monarchy, bringing in the so-called "liberum veto," it was all too evident that some unusual effort on the part of the people, the nobles, or a leader of genius, would be the only thing to save it from the wiles of its enemies. Again the kingdom of Poland was hardly rightly so named, for it included the Grand Duchy of Lithuania over which the same king and Diet reigned. Neither this nor the "liberum veto" helped the chaotic conditions which existed during Sobieski's whole life, and they were undoubtedly true of the reasons why when the Polish crisis came, the country could not withstand the shock. Yet strange to say John Sobieski gained his power at least as king by the aid of the existing condition of the government rather than in spite of it. It is hardly possible that he would have attained his prestige as a warrior and later after his great victory at Vienna the much coveted throne of Poland had it not been thru his injudicious use of the "liberum veto" that had so often before been used to divert the best workings of legislation. Both Poland and Lithuania were subdivided into independent Diets and any local Diet could refuse to acquiesce to the decrees of the national Diet. This led to armed support of every view brought up at a Diet meeting or election, and as a general result little legislation was ever accomplished and the country, and particularly the peasants were set back and suffered beyond all necessity. If there ever was a time, however, when Polish chivalry attempted to recover from this state of government it was under the warrior King John Sobieski, who, poor in his way as a ruler when compared to other European monarchs, saw and understood his country better than his own un-

willing subjects supposed he did, and who when considering the strong opposition he had to face both internally and externally might well be hailed not only as the first warrior of his time, but also as an able and efficient statesman.

In his book, "Poland of To-day and Yesterday", Nevin O. Winter says of Sobieski's birth: "He was descended from illustrious ancestors. Both his father and grandfather had distinguished themselves in Polish history, the former being Castellon of Cracow. He had studied the art of war in France, whither he had been sent in his youth. There he joined in all the frivolity of that age." And the writer adds: "But he soon afterwards threw aside dissipation, and developed into the greatest warrior of his age." He was born in Oleski, Galicia, June 2, 1624, the eldest son of James Sobieski (who likewise according to the Encyclopedia Britannica was Castellan of Cracow). His mother Theofil Danilowiczorna was the granddaughter of the Great Hetman Zollkiewski. After completing a military education he took in 1648 a "grand tour" with his brother Mark. Outside of these bare facts little more is known of his birth or early life.

His first experiences of war were in 1651 when he served against Chimelicki and the Cossacks, in which the Poles were victorious. About this time Alexis of Russia invaded Lithuania and Sobieski took part in the battle of Beresteczko, and later in 1652 in that of Batoka. In these battles he was of great service to his country and was as successful as he was enthusiastic in repelling the enemies of Poland, as he was later on in aiding them against his unfortunate and unhappy country.

This was during the war with Sweden in 1654. Sobieski actually deserted his country here and helped Sweden to conquer the Prussian provinces she desired, which was ended only in the Treaty of Oliva between, Poland, Sweden and Prussia. But later Sobieski seemed to be aware of his disloyalty, and understand his country's plight much better for it was only in the next year that he aided Czarnicki in expelling the persistent and ambitious enemy of Poland, Charles X of Sweden. This exploiter of no mean success well understood the wretched condition of Poland, for at this time she was in a mortal struggle with the rebellious Cossacks who were aided by the watchful Russia. Adopting the policy of Gustavus Adolphus, which was to extend Swedish power down toward Poland and add all Polish territory between Pomerania and Livonia, and thus make secure Sweden's hold on the Baltic, he proceeded to execute his wild and extravagant imagination. And for the first few months this warrior genius was successful to the degree that he deposed the Polish king, John Casimir and took possession of nearly the whole of Poland. But the spirit of Poland altho it might be subdued for the time being would not tolerate such tyrannical oppression without an attempt to remove it, and under Stephen Czarnecki he was slowly but surely driven out and things restored to their "status quo". Sobieski took part in this defeat and in the great three days battle of Warsaw, July 18-20, 1656, distinguished himself as a warrior, and in such a way that he soon became prominent in military circles, and noted as a redoubtable fighter of his nation's foes.

This immediate danger over, fresh attacks from the Turks demanded his attention and after twelve years of constant

warfare with them he learned their country, their ways, their language, and method of fighting so well that his name alone struck terror to the heart of the soldiers of the crescent. Thus by 1668 he received the baton of crown or the commandership-in-chief of the whole Polish army. Well earned by his extraordinary military capacity in his subsequent services to King John Casimir, it was won chiefly thru his services against the bloody Tartars, Cossacks and above all the Turks of the Ukraine.

It may be fitting to give here a description of him by Marfill who says he is a "tall and corpulent prince, large faced, and full eyed, with his hair cut round about the ears like a monk, and always a fur cap, extraordinary rich with diamonds and jewels, a large moustache, and no neck cloth, He carries always a large scimitar by his side, the sheath equally flat and broad from handle to bottom, and curiously set with diamonds".

Sobieski was always successful in his campaigns against the Turk, and it was due to this more than anything else that he became such a great national hero and later King of Poland. The conditions due to Turkish invasions, were at this time frightful in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Austria; and the Moslems flushed with success were audacious enough to dream about extending their tyranny thru all of Europe. To do this they had to first over-come and subdue Poland which has rightly been termed the door of Europe and possibly more unrighteously used as the door-mat of Europe by her in dwellers as well as her invaders! For three centuries these invasions had repeatedly been repulsed, yet the Turk was at this time showing such great signs of strength and making such atrocious

uses of his power that Europe gazed upon this monster awe struck and paralyzed.

Never could Europe forget the insidious invasions of Salzman in 1529, so when Sobieski defeated Mahomet IV in 1669 his victory was extolled as the greatest defeat the Turks had suffered at Christian hands in three centuries. But this defeat only enraged the Sultan, and with his Grand Vizier he planned great schemes whereby he could pass that door and extend his power. An empire from the Caspian Sea to the Adriatic and Indian Ocean was not sufficient; he desired to push it up the Danube thru Poland to the Baltic. Against this growing power, for the next fourteen years Sobieski led the Polish troops with a final termination of his victory in 1683 at Vienna.

Michael Wisniowicki was elected to the throne of Poland in the same year of Sobieski's victory over Mahomet IV. This election was typical of 17th century and Polish corruption. Unscrupulous self seeking Polish nobles sought the crown, the Diet accepted bribes from Louis XIV of France to support his candidate Philip of Neuberg; while the Austrian intrigues were for their candidate Charles Leopold of Lorraine. Leopold was very weak at this time however and had to contend with the War of Revolution in which Louis XIV had laid claims to the Netherlands and which involved him in a coalition against France of which Charles II afterward became leader. Yet Leopold's love of peace caused him to remain neutral in the Netherlands and even go so far in 1668 as to make a secret treaty with Louis XIV for the Partition of the Spanish inheritance. After the death of John Casimir, Louis XIV tried very hard to influence Poland. The Polish crown was now free and open to foreign

competition, for in the past the Poles had seemed to favor foreign kings, perhaps because they could not agree among themselves. The French and Austrian influences were always strongly opposed. Poland, who had relied upon Austrian help during her wars with Sweden, did not feel or resent her influence as much as the bald and open intrigue of France. Besides the Austrian diplomacy wanted rather to foster the idea that, (they had upheld it in the past), a reigning king should choose his own successor under Lubomirski a partly revolutionary against all foreign ambition was formed, and civil war soon broke out. At this time the command of the Grand army was transferred to John Sobieski and for sometime things were in a very confused state. Both France and Austria, however, were disappointed and Michael Korybut Wismowiecki a Lithuanian Piast who was the only living descendent of the royal house of Poland was elected.

Sobieski himself had been in favor of Philip of Neuberg and at a time in which Poland was in grave danger from Turkish invasions he went so far as even to become part of the conspiracy then in interest of France. Undoubtedly he was influenced by the vain and frivolous French woman, Mary d'Arquien, who afterward became his wife much to the detriment of himself and his country. Sobieski lent himself to a plot at this time against his king and country that seems hardly possible in a man of such great deeds as followed in rapid succession. He went so far as to form a league with a certain Prazmowski to dethrone "Karybut". It was discovered in 1670, repudiated by Louis XIV, and the traitors sought the help of Brandenburg. Details of it do not find room

here, but were it not for some unusual victories over the approaching Turks who were attacking some important cities, Sobieki's name might have been unknown or possibly known only as a traitor to his monarch and country.

Gigantic preparations were being made by the Sultan for his conquest of Poland. The Polish king was weak, foreign intrigues were numerous and strong. The first shock that awakened the country to this unhappy condition was the Turkish success at Kamieniek where they defeated an unsupported lieutenant Luzecki in charge at Czertwertzworska and immediately followed it by the capture of the aforesaid fortress. Then Podolskia of much more importance, and in many respects the key to Southern Poland fell. Atrocities of the most indescribable sort followed every success. Sobieski appealed to the Diet for means of defense, but failed to persuade them and the disheartened king was almost ready to give up the struggle, for the hour Poland, perhaps Europe, seemed an easy prey to Mohammedan ambition and aggression.

During this crisis the true warrior in Sobieski showed itself in a remarkable way. He collected what troops he could find. and against terrible odds attacked and won a series of brilliant victories. Prior to this the king had been forced to sign the Peace of Buczaca (Oct. 17, 1672) in which Poland ceded to the Turks the whole of the Ukraine with Padalia and Kamieniek, but within ten days time Sobieski had won four important victories, and altho Kamienieck was still in the hands of the enemy, the country breathed a sigh of relief,- the first in several months. Yet in vain did he try to persuade his king and the Diet to give troops and money to complete his dismissal for all time of their foe. He retired,

but was soon accused by the "Tuszenia pasplite" as being a traitor, and only after a superhuman struggle and the pressing needs of defense did he manage finally to brush aside opposition and again attack the on coming hordes from the south and east. This time his victory was indeed decisive for he defeated them in a great battle at Katzium (1673) and completely broke the power they were never quite able to regain.

Altho Vienna is the triumph which made John III Sobieski famous as a warrior, Katzium was in many respects a greater victory because it marked a new epoch of freedom in the long centuries of resistance Europe had sustained with such continuous and terrible losses against the bloody Turk. We can hardly understand the one without the other and the fact that both victories were accomplished by one country under the leadership of the same hero is in itself an argument in favor of studying them together.

E. P. Verney in Contemporary Review described this victory and has gathered its setting from Salvanady's and Von Hammer's histories of Poland and Turkey. He presents in a very interesting manner the conditions that led to the subsequent seige of Vienna, of its defense by Sobieski and his defeat of the Turk that "Europe went wild about." He says of the Katzium campaign and remarks of the events that preceed it.

"When Solyman was beaten back from the walls of Vienna in 1529, it was only a temporary check upon Turkish advance into Europe. Ever since they had taken Constantinople in 1453 they had menaced Europe. They had taken Rhodes, Cyprus, the islands of Greece about Venice, and had planned the conquest of Dalmatia there-

by threatening Italy, Serbia, Bosnia and Hungary. They coveted for their hordes the fertile banks of the Danube, the wedge as it were to Austria, and for a time up to Salymans defeat it looked as if their victories in Greece Transylvania and the Adriatic provinces would soon entitle them to their desires. Solvandy writes: 'Les derniers aenus d'entre les borbares, les Turco etaient aussi les plus redontables ils u apportaient pas simplement la conquete, ils apportaient le brigandage, le rapt l' apastisie, la mort.' Each success of Mahomet IV added to his ambition to reign over the whole Christian world, and his successes were at this time numerous. After the fall of Crete in 1669, a definite scheme was projected by his Grand Visier Achmet Kiuprili for the conquest of the Danube and its tributaries. His vision saw beyond to the Baltic and North Sea. Preparations on a gigantic scale hitherto unheard of were soon under way. Hordes of Tartars were brought from the heart of Asia, immense supply trains and several hundred cannon from Candia, a strong fleet was collected on the Black Sea, while food was flowing in in an endless stream from Egypt". From the East and the West, and the South this ruler and his Vizier collected an enormous force to be hurled at the door of Europe with the hope of breaking it and with it Christian civilization. And at this door stood Sobieski with a few thousand loyal Polish troops, with a miserable king that could see no danger, with the intrigues of Louis XIV at work and amidst anarchy and confusion among nobles who could not agree.

Thus the fall of the strong Ukraine fortress Kamieniek was inevitable. Nevertheless Sobieki with his scanty handful of devoted

soldiers brushed aside the insults offered to him on every side by his envious Diet enemies, and so harrassed the Turkish lines that in the face of innumerable odds he was successful. He drove their Tartar hordes laden with booty into the Carpathians and in several instances isolated and annihilated larger forces than his own. He liberated thousands of prisoners they attempted to carry off into slavery. He penetrated the Sultan's own camp in the mountains at Bordchez and Mahomet IV the lord of Athens, Memphis, Jerusalem, and Babylon had to flee for his life. Despite these exploits by so apt a pupil of war as Sobieski had thus proved himself to be; he was ordered to retire to his estates, the Polish king gave up opposition threw open the Ukraine, and promised the invader annual tribute!

Yet altho Sobieski was disgusted and heart-broken he had won his spurs "and it was by these efforts that he earned for himself the title of "Terror of the Turks". But trouble of a very grave nature was in store for him, for it was not long before he was accused in the Diet of having sold his country to the Mahommedans for a bribe of twelve million florins. Such an attack on his name and honor was to much for him to bear, and thirsting for a righteous revenge upon his accusers he hurried to Warsaw, while almost at the same time his loyal army gathered about him to avenge the insult upon their beloved hero. When he arrived his very presence created such a sensation and open enthusiasm that upon his demanding the immediate punishment of his accusers, he was hailed as the hero of the hour, and the Diet implored his help against the turks. His whole accusation was found to be a bribed plot in control of an individual enemy of his, who was condemned

to death by the assembly but saved from execution by Sobieski. Verney in the same article mentioned before speaking of Katziun which followed directly in the path of Sobieski's subsequent campaign following the Diets provision of sixty thousand men now given him for a new thrust against the Infidel says:

"In 1673 after numerous disorders in Constantinople and an insurrection in the Peloponnesus which seemed for a while to curb the Turkish invasion, Seraskin Hussein Pasha led eighty thousand troops across the Dinester. Altho Sobieski's army was small his method to defeat this advance was as audacious as was great the success which followed it. Avoiding the Turkish outposts he passed thru their outer lines, crossed the ^Dinester and led his soldiers against the fortified camp of Hussein. It was in the dead of winter, they had few provisions and the men at first almost revolted at such a scheme. They had to put between them and their homes a river full of floating ice; they were in a strange country amid foes which outnumbered them many to one; they saw only disaster ahead. But here the eloquence of the real hero Sobieski made itself felt - for he appealed to them in the name of their country to follow him; he promised them his courage and leadership and asked only that they trust and follow him. He was as successful in persuading his men with words as he was his enemies with his sword, for he quelled the meeting and led them to the battle of Katzim. All thru the night previous to this important battle the weather grew colder; each hour saw the snow pile higher, yet thru the night Sobieski and his troops slept not a wink, for they were preparing for victory, or- as they too well knew-death.

In the early day-break after hearing mass Sobieski, sabre in hand, passed along the silent ranks of his frost covered men. "Comrades," he cried, "you have suffered, but the Turks have suffered more; they cannot stand the cold which has fought for us! Soldiers of Poland we shall save the Republic from slavery. Fight for your country, and remember God fights for you!" Then he mounted his horse and led the calvary against the Turkish camp. Not suspecting a surprise and believing an attack impossible, the Turks were unprepared for such valor; and almost from the first the Poles were triumphant, Thousands of the enemy were cut to pieces by the charge of cavalry, and it is said 20,000 were lost in attempting to cross the river. Drunk with victory and filled with an inborn hate for the invader nothing could stay the hands of Sobieki's troops. Janissaries, Spahis, and Turks were slaughtered with out distinction. The standard of Hussien was afterward sent to the Pope where it hangs in St. Peter's today. "This was hailed by all Europe as the most memorable battle against the Turk for three hundred years."

Michale died the day of the Katzim victory. Despite the threatening Tartars which were by no means completely checked Sobieski hastened to the capital. He appeared at the election with 6,000 soldiers, and not only overawed all his competitors but won against the strong Lithuanian opposition. On May 21, 1674, just nine years before the siege of Vienna, he became King of Poland.

If the average Polish election was as dramatic as most historians point out imagine if you can the excitement at this one. A hundred thousand people have gathered on the plain of Wala at Warsaw. The streets are crowded with Castellan, dignitaries,

officials, troops, from all parts of Poland. Vast tents are erected. For weeks the Diet listens, deliberates, considers upon the great question. Orators harangue each for his representative. Intrigue and bribery are rampant; the foreign rivalry is great. Suddenly a cry rings out. "No more foreigners. Give us a Polish hero for king." There is a moment of tense excitement. A corpulent man in the uniform of a Hetman arises and addressed the assembly; he has a masterful face and a powerful voice of thunder, and in a direct and vigorous speech he declares himself for the great Conde, the choice of France. It is Sobieski. But he is no sooner finished when again and in louder tones a voice calls out: "Poland the rampart of Christendom must have a glorious name to lead her armies. Conde is great; but I demand that a Pole should reign over Poland. There is a man in our midst who having saved the Republic many times by his counsels and his sword, and won for it the respect of the world, is regarded by all the world, as well as by ourselves, is the greatest, the first son of Poland. We are indebted to him for the wonders of Slobodyszoze (Katzim) - those immortal monuments of glory. Chose for your King- John Sobieski!"

Thus made kind, Sobieski did not wait for the coronation ceremony, but hastened, uncrowned to the frontier. He assembled his soldiers at Lemberg, while the Coassacks guarded the Ukraine. Louis XIV caused him great and numerous difficulties, but he soon made some skillful negotiations with the Tartar Khan; and by August first had three thousand men against six thousand Turks. By the help of his heroic Jewish lieutenant, Jan Samuel Chrzanowski, he held the Turks for eleven days at Trembana until succor came. At Zorovno a little later he held eighty thousand

Turks off with 13,000 Poles for three weeks, after which by the treaty of that name he recovered two thirds of the Ukraine so recently lost.

Returning to Cracow he was in 1676 (Feb. 14) crowned. He had a great desire to strengthen Poland by an absolute monarchy but this scheme was looked on coldly by Louis XIV and led to the rupture with France which came in 1682. It is noticeable at this time that he resisted successfully various attempts of the French court to draw him into an anti-Hapsburg league. His treaty of alliance with the Emperor Leopold, March 31, 1693, was however, the prelude to his great military triumph: The relief of Vienna.

And who has not heard of the siege of Vienna? How about June 30, 1683, the Turks after enormous preparations marched upon it from Belgrade; how they plundered, burned, committed untold of atrocities, massacred and pillaged; how Emperor Leopold fled from the city July 7th; how 60,000 of wealthiest citizens fled northward; how count Stahseberg arriving for its defense found it in the wildest state of confusion; how there were only twenty thousand armed men in the city when on July 14, the invaders appeared? Kara Mustapha led the Turks, he arranged them about the city in the shape of a grand crescent. He was joined by Emerich Tokaly who with 100,000 more men completed the circle about this European metropolis. Time and space do not permit the review of the horrible massacre of the nearby town of Perchbalásdorf, nor of the courageous adventures of the bald spy Kalszicki who several times passed thru the Turkish lines for aid. Enough to say that Sobieski the idol of Poland defeated the Turk in his characteristic way, and

henceforth became the acknowledged hero of Europe. He rushed with relief to the suffering city, doomed as it was thought to the miserable fate of Perchbaldsdorf. He took his wife, Marie Casimire and son, James, part way, but left them at the Danube. Crossing it he joined Charles of Lorraine (a former election opponent of his) and together with only 70,000 men they attack the city's beleaguered army. The battle began September 12. The attack was on both wings and the center at once. Sobieski led his young Polish cavalry against the center. At first there was only a half-success, the weak Polish line wavered against such odds many to one. But when the Sultan's arrayed ranks were broken, victory, the greatest of the age was theirs. Six pashas were slain, thousand of their troops were annihilated. The Vizier fled with a small remnant of his army and did not stop until he reached Belgrade. Later he was executed by his Sultan for such a defeat. Such in its barest facts, was the triumph of John Sobieski at Vienna, an epoch making event in history, the most sanguinary enemies of Poland must admit. Such was the stroke by the great Polish warrior that save Europe for all time from the Turk. Perhaps the best way to study this seige and victory is from the letters John III wrote his wife, Marie Casimire d'Arquiens, and it would take a volume to contain them. She was a jealous and undeserving wife, yet Sobieski worshipped her. Her father, Henri de la Grange, had been a captain in the guard of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and she had originally been maid of honor to Marie Louis. Sobieski had married her not long after the death of her former husband, Count Zornojski. The extracts from these letters contain much description and minute

detail of the seige. Turk camp, and wild retreat, but in them he is constantly reminding his wife of his utmost devotion to her.

For his great victory Sobieski received the ingratitude of Austria and the jealousy of Louis XIV who wanted the honor of displaying his military power by showing Europe he could save Vienna. Poland herself profited little by this triumph and it resulted only in an ineffectual "Holy League" between Poland, Austria, Venice, and the Pope.

The last years of Sobieski marked the saddest period of his varied life. Altho there was an apparant collapse of the Turkish Empire, the revival of the dashing Tokaly, now freed from his prison, brought new disaster. Kamieniek was not retaken, and to make things worse foreign aggression from all sides, notably the Russian invasion was fast demoralizing the unorganized, unhappy, unguarded Commonwealth and its disappointed king. One might have peeped behind the veil of intrigue and foreign diplomacy and almost foretold the partition of his valiant country hanging gloomily not very distant in the black future.

In 1690 Sobieski failed to put his son on the throne. Political discord, treacherous neighbors, ungrateful allies, and domestic unhappiness all hastened the end. Versailles was closed against him. He died, June 17, 1696, utterly heart-broken. Yet his name shall live in the history of the world as a brave warrior, an honorable victor, and the savior of Christendom.

III

THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND.

Kosciusko.

O what a loud and fearful shriek was there
As though a thousand souls one death-grown pour'd!
Ah me! they saw beneath a hireling's sword
Their Kosciusko fall! Through the swart air

As passes the tir'd Cossac's barbarous yell
Of triumph on the chill and midnight gale
Rises with frantic burst or sadder swell
The dirge of murder'd Hope! while Freedom pale

Bends in such anguish o'er her destin'd bier,
As if from eldest vine some spirit meek
Had gather'd in a mystic urn each tear
That ever on a patriot's furrow'd cheek
Fit channel found; and she had drain'd the bowl
In the mere wilfulness, and sick despair of soul!

--Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

The Partitions of Poland

I

The first partition (1772)

Poland in 1770 had an area of 280,000 square miles, (or that equal, in size, to the six states, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan), the third largest country in Europe; and seven millions of inhabitants, the fifth in population. During the next twenty-five years, the period of the American and French Revolutions, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, taking advantage of the rising in Western Europe, invaded Poland, captured her cities, crushed her armies, laid waste her country, and in three successive partitions erased this vast and ancient country from the political map of Europe. Since 1795, or the date of the last of these partitions, two of these powers have made every attempt to destroy the language, religion and laws of Poland. But they have succeeded only in part, for to-day there are 30 million people who speak the language, and who cherish a passionate hope of sometime uniting their torn land into a free nation. They are thinking, and the world is beginning to think with them that some day - a day not too far in the future, they shall be free from their tyrannical masters and once more take their rightful place as an independent Polish Republic of Europe.

There are generally three causes attributed to the downfall and partitions of Poland. (1) Her anarchic Constitution, (2) her lack of a strong executive head, (3) her inactive Diet. These are, in truth, the immediate and apparent causes but there are

other things to remember in this connection. Poland was exhausted from her part in the Turkish wars. John Sabriski's victories and the Peace of Karlowitz by which Poland had regained Podolia and the Arkraine from Turkey, had not ended the Polish struggle there. Nor had Poland recovered from her twenty years of warfare with Charles XII in the great Northern Wars', and the war of the Polish Succession which followed it. Besides this internal exhaustion, Poland could not in her crisis expect aid from the outside, for, France was in the throes of a bloody Revolution and whom else but France could Poland look to? Russia, Prussia, and Austria were at her throat, while England not only stood aloof but even sanctioned the Partitions, seeing her mistake only after the mischief had been done. Indeed had not the spoils of Poland attracted Prussia and Austria, it is doubtful if the French Revolution would have succeeded. Each partition was accomplished by the combined forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who under various pretenses subdued the country and then forced the helpless Diet to sign the partition treaties. Poland had tried again and again to reform the anarchic Constitution, but each time foreign gold, intrigue and troops prevented any change. Weak kings, not the choice of Poland were placed upon the throne in the presence of threats, bribery, and foreign soldiers. Catherine, the scheming Empress of Russia and Frederick II saw to this as part of their infamous program of dismemberment. They deliberately opposed reform, and encouraged chaos, confusion, and anarchy. For several centuries Poland had been the battle-ground of Saxon, Swede and Russian, had held the Turk back from Europe yet the moment this Republic rested for breath, her enemies were

upon her, not a hand was raised in her behalf; - she fell not from corruption but exhaustion in repelling her vulture enemies.

In 1672 Sigismund, King of Poland, left no heir and the monarchy became elective, his successor being chosen by the Diet. Previous to this the Polish Constitution was theroretically, but not practically an elective monarchy; but from this time on it was understood as elective. These elections to the Polish throne were often controlled by foreign countries, who thru means of bribery, exciting jealousy and large armed forces caused their candidate to be made King, adding thus greatly to their power and influence in European affairs. So the Polish Kings of this period knowing little the conditions and needs of a foreign country made poor executives, being generally mere figure-heads drawing a comfortable pension from the home supporters and allowing things in the miserable country to become very decadent.

In 1697 the election of Augustus of Saxony marked a new step in this decay. Although one of eighteen candidates for the throne he won the election through the fact that his purse outlasted those of his rivals. He did nothing for Poland but involved her in a long and exhaustive war with the Swedes, giving Peter the Great his long planned for opportunity to annex the Swedish provinces along the Baltic from Riga to Viborg, and arousing his ambitions for Western Civilization in the desire of adding Poland to Russia.

When the Empress Catherine came to power in Russia she well understood these plans and proceeded with all the vigor of her powerful character to realize the plans of Peter, not only in the north but in Turkey and Poland as well. She was with Frederick II

of Prussia equally interested in keeping the Polish Constitution, Diet and throne in a weak condition, while secretly she determined that Russia should in time absorb the whole of Poland including the Prussian provinces of Posen and West Prussia (Polish Prussia) which would give Russia in this way command of the eastern coast of the Baltic from Danzig to Uleaborg. In this Catherine found she had to reckon with Prussia and later Austria, so that in the final settlement although Russia got the greater part of Poland, the important city of Danzig and the Polish outlet to the sea fell to Prussia.

The traitor Augustus made an effort, by first proposing a partition to form a hereditary kingdom for his Saxon house, but his death in 1733 put an end to this shameful scheme. Stanislaus Leszczynski, who had failed in a previous election against Augustus, was now made King.

A small group of Poles and Lithuanians strenuously objected to this and appealed to Russia who with the help of Russian troops deposed him. He fled to France, and Augustus III became King. The outstanding feature of his short reign was the attempt of the Poles to reform their constitution under the leadership of the Czartorzski. This ancient and powerful family, descendants of the famous Jagiellle Dynasty, determined to save the fast failing Republic. They recognized the need of reform in the Diet, Constitution, and throne. Above all they saw that Poland must have a strong standing army, but their every attempt was frustrated by partisanship and the jealousy of other influential families. Finally, all other means failing, and not willing to submit to their hated rivals they took the fatal step

of inviting Russian intervention. This was the opportunity Catherine had long looked forward to and she lost no time in dispatching her agents in the execution of her orders and painstaking schemes. Nor was Frederick II idle; the secret understanding between the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg had not been fostered with a purposeless aim, the time for definite action was now almost at hand.

The first move was to take immediate advantage of the confusion of Poland following the death of Augustus III. The throne being vacant, the Empress and Frederick agreed not to spare bribery or force in putting on it as King the man best fitted to carry out their program - Count Stanislaus Poniatowski. Catherine herself referred to him as : "the individual most convenient, for our common interests." He was a man of handsome looks and fine manners whose experience and temperament equipped him better for the salons of Paris than the difficult kingship of a struggling Poland. He had formerly been very intimate with Catherine while acting as minister of Poland at the Prussian Court before she became Empress, so at this time in placing him upon the Polish throne, Catherine knew well the part she could expect him to play in executing her policy.

The Czartoryski were in favor of Catherine's candidate, for they fully expected that following it Russia would support the much needed Polish reforms. In this they were bitterly disappointed. They saw their mistake when it was too late to institute reform, and too late to save Poland from partition.

By means of bribery and especially an army of Russian troops at Warsaw, Poniatowski was elected King of Poland by the Diet

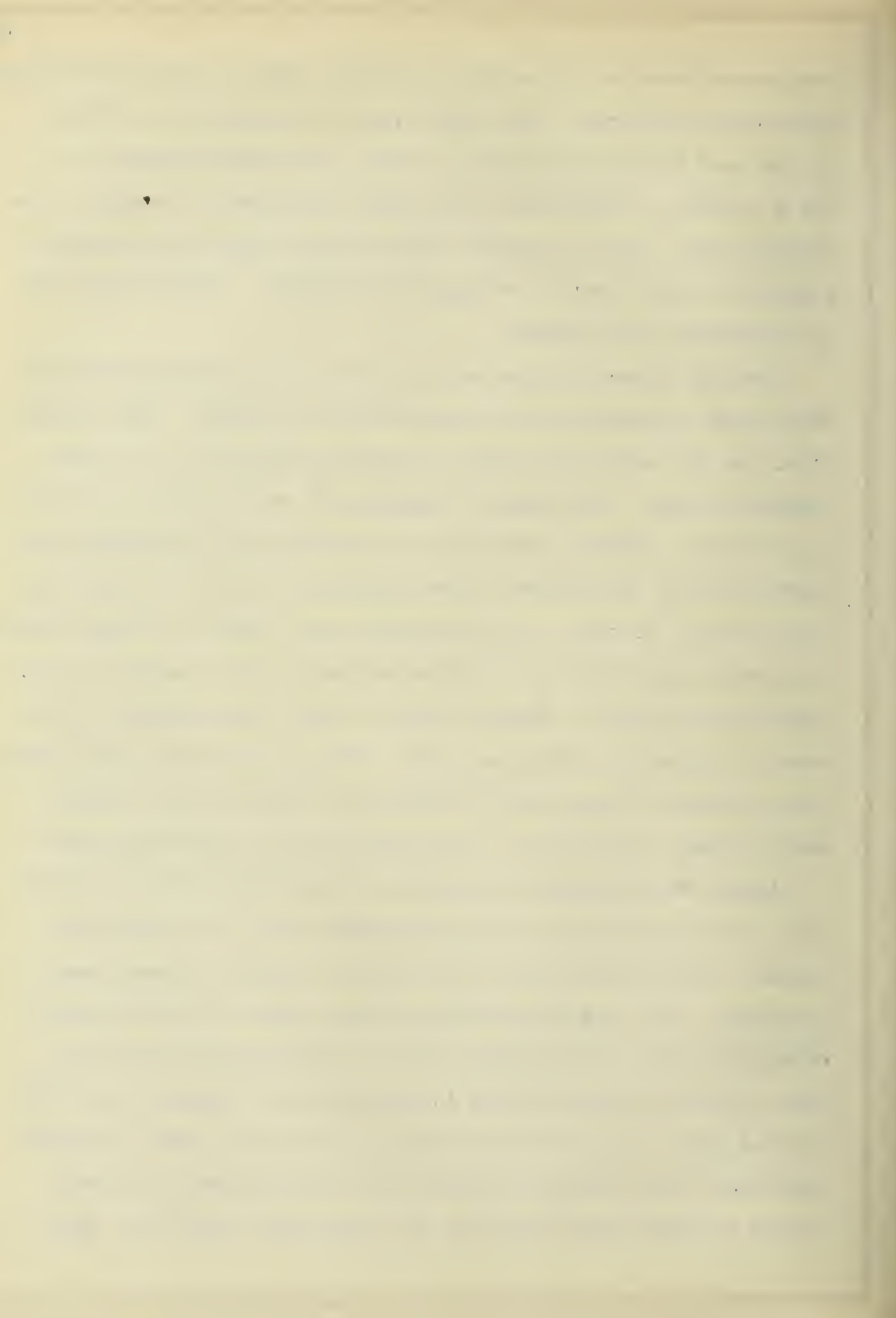
September 7, 1764. Stanislaus soon found that he was King only in name. He was responsible for all his actions to the Russian agent Repnin who imposed on him the authority of Catherine, best described in his own words: "I am your master, you can only retain your crown by submission to me." Repnin, backed by Russian troops openly dominated the Polish Diet and sent to Siberia in chains those who did not comply with his dictates.

The next step Catherine took in her plans to dismember Poland was thru the question of religion. The Polish Diet was forced to repeal a law excluding all but members of the established Roman Catholic Church from holding public offices. About the same time the Diet was forced to sanction a treaty with Russia which maintained the old anarchial Constitution unaltered. These outrages led to what is known as the Confederation at Bar. This heroic attempt was in 1768 formed by the patriotic noblemen Adam and Michael Krasinski, Joachim Patocki and Joseph Paulaski, with the avowed object to "free the country of foreigners." It was called the Confederation of Bar named after the town of Bar where the leaders first met. They resolved on the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion and repudiation of the infamous treaty with Russia, and began to organize an army to enforce these demands. This agitation was used as an excuse by Russia, Prussia and Austria who poured their troops into Poland on pretenses of restoring order. The confederates failed with their inefficient army and also in an attempt to carry off their King. Later he was dragged through the streets of Warsaw and barely escaped assassination. Better for him if it had succeeded for he had greater humiliation to face in the loss of his crown and that of

the independence of his unhappy country. Many of the confederates were sent to Siberia. One Count Beniowski celebrated in verse by the poet Slowacki wandered to France from which country he led a colony to Formosa for the French government. Paulaski, who escaped exile, came to America where he was famous as a cavalry general in the Colonies' struggle for freedom. He lost his life in the defense of Savannah.

Like the Empress Catherine, Frederick II of Prussia had for many years contemplated the despoliation of Poland. When Prince Royal, he had urged his father, Frederick William I, to annex Prussian Poland. The death of Augustus II ending this opportunity, had not, however, kept him from desiring the acquisition of certain Polish palatinates. Yet replying in 1764 to an inquiry from Austria, he said: "I am sure that your Court is alarmed about the treaty, and that Vienna believes that we have decided on the partition of Poland. But you will see that the contrary is the case." Similarly, Catherine wrote: "We have never had the intention, nor have we the need, to extend the limits of our Empire, which already consists of a large part of the terrestrial globe."

Anyone who examines the memoirs of Frederick and his negotiations with Catherine at this time cannot fail to see that his scheme of partition had for its aim the complete dismemberment of Poland. His object in keeping Poland weak was not the maintenance of place but the acquisition of West Prussia and the Netze district which he held important in the linking up of East Prussia with the rest of his domain. To the end that the actual anarchical conditions in Poland must be maintained his agents signed a treaty with Russia at St. Petersburg, April 22, 1764.



Later in 1769, at Nissa and in 1770 at Nenstadt his conferences with Joseph II, the ambitious heir of Maria Theresa, had for their sole purpose the winning of Augustus' participation in the partitions. He writes in his memoirs in 1768: "It seems that the great obstacle, will come from Russia. It will be better perhaps to gain this province (Prussian Poland) bit by bit, by negotiation, rather than by conquest. In case Russia may need our assistance it will be possible to obtain what we want."

In 1769 in a letter to Prince Henry, he writes: "Two courses are open to us: either to arrest Russia in its course of immense conquests, or, what will be the wisest course, to endeavor by good management to draw advantage from it. What could Austria do? She would be compelled to remain faithful to her French alliance. In such case she would be compelled to take the part of the Turks and Poles, or she would be seduced by Russia, who would offer her a part of the cake and Prussia, in such case would find itself between Austria and Russia. To find a way out of this dilemma it will be necessary to indemnify Russia for the costs of her war with Turkey to separate Austria from France, and to satisfy the Court of Vienna in such a way as to remove the temptation to it of an alliance with Russia."

And again in a few days he wrote: "If Austria gets us part of Poland, all the hatred of the Poles will be turned against us. They would thus regard the Austrians as their protectors and the latter would gain so much of prestige and influence with them that they would have thousands of opportunities for intrigue of all kinds in that country."

Frederick had more difficulty in his negotiations at Vienna

than at St. Petersburg. He greatly feared Russian aggrandizement in the south. Despite the Seven Year's War and the recent enmity of Austria he pointed out to Joseph II the danger he would suffer by Russia's conquest of Moldavia and Wallachia, in the war Turkey had just declared, and how protecting Turkey in maintaining Moldavia and compensating Russia in the partition of Poland would strengthen Austria. This besides helping the selfish scheme of Frederick by upsetting Russia in the south would open a stronger claim for Prussia, backed by Austria, in gaining territory in Poland, which he fully knew Catherine would like to reserve entirely for herself. In this he won Joseph.

The Empress Maria Theresa, Joseph's mother, was at first very adverse to the partition scheme. In 1771 she made an alliance with Turkey for the reconquest of Moldavia, with an agreement on the territorial integrity of Poland. Russia was alarmed and for a while a great European conflict seemed inevitable. Catherine finally agreed to submit to Frederick in this and to cede Moldavia in return for a part of the coming dismemberment of Poland. This, the persuasions of her agent Kannitz, (at first himself opposed to the scheme) and the arguments of Joseph who had succumbed to the overtures of Frederick caused Maria Theresa to in the end, assent.

The partition treaty was signed between Prussia and Russia at St. Petersburg, February 17, 1772, and by all three Powers in August of the same year. By the first treaty Russia and Prussia, "considering the general confusion in which the Republic of Poland exists, by the dissension of its leading men, and the perversity of all its citizens," and "in order to restore public

tranquility," the Powers would enforce on Poland claims that are as ancient as they are legitimate (yet Poland had held without question these very territories for several hundreds of years!)

By this "treaty in the name of the Holy Trinity," Russia came into possession of the palatinates of Vitebsk, Pololsk, and Mscislaw, as far as the rivers Dwina and Dneiper, consisting of over 3,000 square leagues. Prussia took West Prussia without Danzig, Kulm without Thorn and Great Poland as far as Nitza and the palatinates of Marimburg and Ermeland; or 2,500 square leagues. While Austria was to have the greater part of Galacia including a part of Podolia and Little Poland as far as the Vistula with out the city of Croew. In all Poland lost by this criminal act about one third of her territory and about four millions of her people.

It was over a year before the Diet could be summoned to ratify the treaty. Warsaw was filled with Russian, Prussian and Austrian troops. The Diet was told that the whole of Poland would be partitioned if they did not sign the treaty. The Librum Veto was cast aside, bribery was used, and in spite of much opposition and many heroic speeches against the scheme, the armed forced prevailed and the treaty was ratified. Henceforth the power was to be in a Council who obeyed the dictates of Russia, while the kind, still the head, was under the authority of the Russian Ambassador.

Thus the first of the three partitions was now complete. Poland was too weak to resist. The enemies of the Republic had broken her back, the rest was but a matter of time. Intrigue, bribery, and combined force had all played their part, Poland

was no more a free, independent nation. Europe and the world were surprised, but did nothing.

II

The Second Partition

The first partition was followed by the most progressive period of Poland's history. For twenty-one years, or until the second partition in 1793, there was a very marked revival in social, economic and educational activities. Polish art and science experienced a great renaissance. The Constitution was reformed. A great wave of enthusiasm and hope passed over the nation. The old spirit of liberty seemed to displace the ever present feeling of despair that had lately burned so deep into the bleeding heart of this unfortunate nation.

Just as the French Revolution was preceded by the philosophical and political thought of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau, so following the first disaster in the dismemberment of Poland moved the spirits of some of the most enlightened men of the time. The leader of this reform was Hugo Kallontaj from whom Thomas Paine got many of his ideas on education. With the help of a picked Commission he organized and improved the system of Polish schools. Polish universities at Cracow and Warsaw were revived, and enriched by modernized departments of chemistry, astronomy, surgery, engineering and a conservatory of music. Despite much opposition and great difficulties the Commission was so successful that the standards of education so improved that a great stimulus was soon felt in art, science, and literature. A great feeling of patriotic enthusiasm spread

rapidly over Poland, until by 1788 the "Four Years Diet" met for the purpose of amending the Constitution, centralizing the weak government, and dropping the vicious "Libernum Veto". It was in a great measure successful, The first thing it did was to insist on the withdrawal of Russian troops that hitherto so hampered its action. This accomplished, and after almost four years of vehement discussion, on May 3, 1791 a new Constitution was adopted and presented by King Stanislaus being called "measures which will provide for the saving of the state", and headed by the famous words used in like manner by the National Assembly of France: "All power in a State emanates from the will of the nation."

The most important provisions made by this Act of Reform were:

(1) The Liberum Veto was abolished, and a majority of the Diet was to prevail (2) The throne should be hereditary after the death of Stanislaus and was to pass to the house of Saxony (3) The King was to be aided by six Ministers responsible to the Diet (4) He was to have the executive power and was to command the army in time of war which was to consist of 100,000 men. (5) The Diet was to have two Chambers consisting of the House of Deputies, and the Senate, in which the legislative was to be vested. All laws were originated in the House of Deputies and approved by the Senate or suspended until the next Diet. (6) The Diet was to meet regularly every two years, could be called at any time to consider special matters and every twenty-five years it was to meet to consider amendments to the Constitution (7) The Burghers of the towns were admitted to the franchise; improvement in the conditions of the peasants was to be provided for. (8) The Roman Catholic religion was to be the established Church with a tolerance of other sects.

Altho this new Constitution was not perfect it was approved of by an overwhelming majority of the Polish people. There was great popular rejoicing, and little wonder, for at this time the tyrannical Russian party seemed to have in some mysterious way disappeared. Stanislaus was hailed as Liberator of his people; Congratulations poured in to his court from all over the world. Professor Lewicki called the Reform "the middle ground between the ancient institutions and the extreme doctrines of the French Revolutions". Burke wrote: "Humanity must rejoice and glory when it considers the change in Poland."

Meanwhile two of the signers of the first partition treaty, Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great had died. This, together with the breach of the Russo-Prussian alliance in 1780, and the outbreak of another war between Russia and Turkey relieved Poland for the time from foreign pressure. Furthermore the Eastern question was becoming so acute as to vitally interest all the great Powers of Europe who gradually divided-one side, Prussia and her allies championing Turkey, the other Austria, Russia and their allies opposing Turkey, and, both trying to win Poland to their side.

It has been said that Czartoryzki's had made a fatal step previous to the first partition by catering to Russian intervention, and in a like manner was the Polish-Prussian alliance made at this time a grave mistake for Poland's future freedom. Frederick William seeking Poland's aid against Russia had solemnly guaranteed her integrity against foreign attack, approved of her new Constitution and promised in every way to oust Russian influence in return for Poland's alliance. It was, alas, a farce of political intrigue as the Poles found out to their sorrow.

This alliance so angered the Empress Catherine that altho busy in her Turkish war she decided to cease in that field and deal Poland a blow that would once and for all make her subordinate to Russian rule. Accordingly after a preliminary treaty with the Sultan at Salatz, she directed her armies toward Poland, preferring as it turned out later, the acquisition of Polish territory to the vast area her grasping ambition had contrived to wrest from Turkey. This startling occurrence took place in August of the same year of the new Polish Constitution, 1791. Not confident of her success alone and not wanting to share the plunder of Poland with Austria and Prussia, this schemer formed deep and cynical designs to entangle these Powers in war with France. She did everything in her power thru intrigue and bribery to involve the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin in plunging them into this war with the struggling Revolutionists of France, so as to leave her sole master of the Polish situation. In this it will be seen she failed, for the above named countries came in for shares of the next two partitions of Poland. If they had followed the course as the Empress desired to intervene in France it is possible that the Royalist party of that country by the aid of these Powers would have crushed the Revolution there. It is thus not claiming anything preposterous to say that Poland saved France in the most crucial period of her whole existence; that she changed in fact a Revolution from defeat to success the effect of which spread throughout the leading nations of the world! Catherine like all other European monarchs at this period, felt that the Revolution, if successful, would be a blow at the principle of monarchical government, and the supreme rights enjoyed by the throne. She sympathized with the Royal Family, but rather tried

to influence Joseph II and Frederick Willaim in helping Louis XVI than attempt to aid him herself. In this way her hands would be unhampered and she could deal with the Poland situation as she pleased.

So when the Russian armies liberated from the struggle in Turkey approached the Polish frontier, it was the sworn duty of Prussia to live up to the alliance just recently made with Poland. But Frederick William and his Ministers were really strongly opposed to the Polish Constitution, and while professing to faithfully fulfill the treaty obligations were actually plotting how best they might share in the spoils of what was sure to follow Russian invasion. The conduct of this perfidious German King shows his participation in the partition a few months later that he had utterly and deliberately deceived Poland, and at a time when the Polish Government needed most to rely on his alliance against the advances of Russia. His correspondence memoirs, and negotiations all show that as soon as all danger from a war with Russia was passed he was ready to himself suggest that Poland give up Thorn and Ianzig (important cities in Poland's outlet to the sea) in return for an insignificant commercial treaty. This was met by such strong opposition from the Poles that soon Frederick William threw off the mask, renounced his pledges, said that: "alliance was impossible between Prussian and a firmly established Poland," and openly took part in the scheme with Russia to further the rending of the Polish Republic. All during the Polish revival Frederick and Catherine sought every conceivable means to maintain Poland as a State too weak for offence, and now that their hands were once more free they were going to take off the fruits of

their perfidy.

With the Russian army of 100,000 veterans crossing the frontier Poland appealed to Prussia. Frederick William replied thru his ambassador Luechesini who said: "My master does not consider himself bound by the treaty of March 29th, 1890 to defend by his army the hereditary monarchy as established by the Constitution of May 3, 1791." Not long after the King of Prussia through a manifesto announced his intentions of invading Poland. His reasons, he said, were that "the principles of Jacobinism are gaining ground in that country, that the spirit of the French democracy and the principles of that atrocious sect which seeks to make proselytes on all sides begin to take root in Poland, so that there are already formed thru several revolutionary clubs which make an open profession of their sentiments." Shabby excuse, indeed, for so great a crime!

Austria actually at war with France had hoped for the support of Russia and Prussia. She could not break with Prussia for Francis II no longer in favor of maintaining the integrity of Poland agreed with Joseph II in deserving as an indemnity for the war with France to share in the coming partition of Poland. He preferred the annexation of Bavaria in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands, Kannitz, the Minister of Austria, altho again opposing dismemberment of Poland had thus to give to the scheme of Prussia, while Catherine was fully satisfied with this method of compensating Austria.

These were the chimerical conditions Poland faced just before the second partition. The contemplated army of 100,000 had not materialized; the Treasury was empty, and the Diet was in no way prepared to meet the combined efforts of three well-armed

countries. The greatest diplomats in the world could not have wriggled out of such a situation. Once more did Poland have to stand against three bandit Powers. Once more did her heroes struggle for liberty, a losing fight against overwhelming forces; and, once more she lost. The second act in this blackest of political dramas, this most atrocious of European crimes was enacted.

To hasten defeat already too close, some Polish traitors undertook to hold secret conferences with Russia and to form the confederacy of Targowica, - this for the purpose of renewing the old and vicious Constitution. Headed by General Kochnowsky, Felid Palocki, Branicki, Rezewuski and others desiring private gain or personal revenge upon rivals, issued a manifesto in the Ukrainian town of Tarzowica in the district of Braclaw. They called on Russian troops who invaded Poland in forces too great to be opposed by the ill-armed Poles. Cities fell in rapid succession, the King lost faith in the Polish army and fled, - yet even here the brave resistance of Kosciuszko was growing so strong that had not the Prussians entered the field with their troops, Poland might yet have repulsed for the time being the invaders. But with traitorous Confederacy increasing and the entrance of such a formidable ally as Prussia all chances of a successful defence collapsed. The Polish generals resigned and left the country, the Confederacy came into power, Russian troops took Warsaw, the painstaking reforms of the Four Years Diet were annulled, many patriots were imprisoned, executed or sent to Siberia; corruption followed vengeance, and Poland after twenty years of glorious revival was again beaten back, beaten

to earth. Never since then has a name sounded more odious to Polish ears than the treasonous word "Targowica."

This invasion of Poland gave Catherine by July, 1792, complete control of Poland. The little power the false Diet of the nefarious Targowitzians had was taken from them and henceforth its actions were at the feet of the dictates of St. Petersburg. The Empress, while desiring the greater part of Poland, soon saw that Frederick William must come in for his share of the cake. There had been an understanding that Prussian and Austria were to get an indemnity for their expenses in the probable war with France thru the spoils of Poland. The triumph of Dumoriez, the events at Valmy, the failure of the allied troops in the invasion of France, the execution of Louis XVI and his Queen, all intensified the actions of the three conspirators, in their divisions of Poland.

Following the battle of Jemeppe in which the French forces completely depleted Belgium, numerous Polish uprisings, and "revolutionary" threatenings from the Targowitzians, the Prussian Ambassador and Minister of Russia negotiated secretly for a second partition utterly ignoring Austria. In the treaty resulting Jan 23, 1793, for the division of about half of the then existing Poland, Prussia was to have the coveted prizes of Thron and Danzig, and the districts of Posen, Kalisch, and Plock, comprising an area of 15,000 square miles and a population of about 1,000,000. Russia got the palatinates of Kiev, Minsk, Bracclaw and a portion of Valhynia, an area in all of 90,000 square miles and a population of 3,000,000.

Altho Austria had preferred a province of France, the Empress

was greatly angered at being thus duped out of a share of the Polish plunder and loudly demanded an equivalent to that obtained by Prussia, but in this her ambassador was unsuccessful. Austria was not to participate in plundering Poland until the final partition of 1895.

As to the Polish opposition to this it was futile. It has been said the army was small and unable to resist the trained manoeuvres of the combined armies of Russia and Prussia. General Mollendorf with his veteran troops under the manifesto proclaiming that the Jacobin principles of the French Revolution must be crushed in Poland, had in joint action with the brutal Igelstrom soon made real his statements.

The unfortunate King Stanislaus desiring to abdicate his throne was told by Catherine that he must keep it so long as she thought he could best execute her plans there. She had further use of him to ratify her infernal treaty. In this the Diet was again forced thru the presence of Russian and Prussian troops to sign away their country's liberty. This sanction was not accomplished without a great resistance and delay. Sievers, the Russian agent in charge arrested many of the opposition, deporting them to Siberia. At last under the threat of troops which lined the walls of the Senate hall, the treaty was signed. But when it came to the Prussian treaty the Diet members made the greatest resistance: "They can send us to Siberia," they cried, "but we will not give in." Eloquent speeches to save their country from the second and most bitterly opposed of the enemies, accomplished nothing. In vain did Sievers threaten to deprive the King of food, and menace them with war, he could not

~~he could not~~ in this case, prevail. The noble Diet, silent hour after hour, throughout the long night absolutely refusing to give the slightest assent in sanctioning the claims of Prussia. At last the question was put again by Sievers and receiving no response, he declared that silence was consent. The meeting of Deputies was closed. One by one the bare-headed members filed out past the Russian soldiery, exhausted after long sleepless hours, broken-hearted, weeping. It was the last Diet of Poland.

III

Kosciuszko, and the Final Partition

Poland now a mere appenage of Russia, the Empress Catherine turned her attention again to Turkey. With it she took the greater part of her army leaving General Igelstrom in Warsaw with only about 20,000 troops. The Russian army had maintained itself in Poland by marauding and extorting from the helpless populace so its withdrawal the spirit of discontent became general and open. What remained of the national life had been transferred to Leipzig and here under such patriots as Kollontaj and Kosciuszko plans were made for an insurrection. When Igelstrom ordered the Polish army to be disbanded, one of the Polish Generals, Madalinski refused and raising a cry of revolt marched upon Ostrolenka. This brought on a general revolt throughout the country, and peasants, burghers, and nobles gathered to free the land from the alien enemy. The insurgents invited Kosciuszko to place himself in command of their army. Knowing Poland could better strike when Russia was deeper in her struggle with Turkey he hesitated, but the success of a Polish battalion at Oracow, the increasing spirit

of revolt, the gathering of Russian forces to quell the revolution made him decide to strike at once. He hastened to Cracow, assumed command of the Polish army and issued his famous patriotic manifesto March, 24, 1794, appealing to the Poles to rally in defense of their country; He was hailed everywhere as Saviour of his country; troops and citizens flocked to his standard and took the oath of allegiance to him.

Andrew Thaddeus Bonaventure Kosciuszko, the greatest of Polish heroes was born in Sienimiweicza, Lithuania, February 12, 1746. He received a good military education in the Military Academy at Warsaw 1769-1774, and later studied in Germany, Italy and at the military school of Versailles, France. Here he early got the republican ideas that were so strong in France just before its Revolution. Returning to Poland in 1774 he found it in despair for the Diet had just been compelled to submit to the humiliating treaty of the first partition. He volunteered his services in the Polish army and soon became captain of artillery. Disappointed in love, he came to America with an introduction to Washington by Franklin. He helped Washington for eight years. His best works were in the planning and building of the fortifications of Bemis Heights and West Point. He received from Washington for his extraordinary engineering genius the rank of Brigadier-General. The American Revolution over, he returned to his country with a great reputation. In 1789 he was appointed general of a brigade in the Polish army. He fled after the second partition to avoid imprisonment, but upon the revolt of Madalinski, hastened to Cracow where he was made dictator of Poland which gave him absolute control of the armies and regulations of political and

civil affairs. His first act summoned the nobles and citizens to impose a property tax. King Stanislaus was not allowed to participate. He took the oath of fealty on the square of Cracow. "I, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, swear to the Polish nation in presence of God, that I will never employ the power which has been intrusted me, against any citizen,; but I will exert it only to defend the integrity of my country, to recover the national independence, and to strengthen the general liberty of the nation, so help me God!"

General Igelstrom had sent Generals Domislaw and Thomasson with 7,000 men from Warsaw to put down the revolt under Madalinski. On April 29th Kosciuszko left Cracow with 2,000 men and joined Madalinski who had about the same number. Many of these were untrained peasants armed only with scythes. On May 4th they proceeded against the Russians at Rochawice and gained a brilliant victory over a large body of trained troops, trained and equipped with cannon. Kosciuszko displayed great vigor and skill. He drove the Russians back with heavy slaughter, his daring peasants charged and captured the batteries and for the time the Russian soldiers were forced to retreat. Kosciuszko retired to Cracow and issued a proclamation abolishing serfdom and granting the peasants ownership of the land worked by them.

The revolution gained strength and impetus. Igelstrom who attempted to disarm the Poles in Warsaw was attacked by them under the leadership of John Kilinski, and after several days of desperate street fighting the Russians were driven out of the city. The fall of Warsaw increased the enthusiasm of the Poles and the revolt spread throughout the whole of Poland. In vain the King

denounced the patriots as traitors, he was soon shut up in Warsaw and silenced. The Russian garrisons were driven out at Vilna and other cities.

But in spite of these victories the outbreak occurred at a bad time for the Polish cause. The Empress Catherine was so entangled with Turkey that she could not deal with Poland. She decided to destroy forever what was left to Poland of her independence and to this end called upon Prussia and Austria to fulfill their treaty obligations. Altho the coalition at this time was not very strong, historians are agreed that the Polish uprising under Kosciuszko again saved France from destruction for at this time not only Austria and Prussia were preparing to invade France, but England herself was attempting another campaign against the French.

In the face of great opposition by the orator Charles Fox, England loaned Frederick William £2,600,000 for this purpose. The predictions of Fox later became true for the loans of England were not used in crushing France, but in the war against Poland. At this very time Frederick Willaim was carrying on negotiations with the Government of France for terms of peace without the knowledge of England and his other allies. The British payments on this immense loan continued during this dishonorable transaction and were used in feeding and arming the troops of Prussians which were turned not against France but the Polish revolt. Thus Prussia duped England into aiding her in the final partition of Poland.

So Prussia declared war and sent 40,000 troops headed by King Frederick into Poland. Cracow fell to them and the Polish army

retired to Warsaw. The policy of Austria at this turn of events was not much different from that of Prussia. She withdrew from the campaign in Flanders, evidently considering Polish territory of more value than the Belgian provinces, and made a hasty peace with France. England thus tricked by her allies was left almost alone against France, while Prussia and Austria combined with Russia to subdue the Polish uprising and make a final allotment of the spoils. Both knew Russia would have a hard time to quell the revolt alone, both were suspicious of each other; all three were equally greedy for territorial plunder in what was left of the miserable Polish Republic.

In June 28, 1794, after making some sort of settlement with the Turks, the Empress directed General Suvorov to lead his army to Poland. Kosciuszko wanted to defeat the Prussian army approaching Warsaw before the arrival of Austria and the Russian army. While he prepared Warsaw for a long siege, one of his Generals, Dombrowski struck the Prussian army in the rear. Almost at the doors of the capital the Prussian army was beaten and suffered such great losses that it was forced to retreat. Almost at the same time the Polish resistance that was being organized in Galacia suffered a slight defeat against a large Austrian army in the battle of Czekokociny. For the day, victory seemed almost with the Poles, but the failure of Frederick William to capture Warsaw only made Catherine more firm in her determination to possess it. Kosciuszko formed a juncture with Growchowski, their combined force consisting of only 17,000 troops, among them many being untrained peasants armed only with scythes. In a desperate encounter with 37,000 trained troops of Russia and Prussia, the Poles were defeated at Rowka. Kosciuszko retired with the remainder of his small army to Warsaw. The Prussians recovering from their first defeat captured Cracow a few days later. The Prussian King showed

here he was no match for Kosciuszko for instead of following up his victory and attacking Warsaw, he waited. This gave Kosciuszko time to gather new forces and entrench himself behind the walls of Warsaw. He had now 17,000 soldiers, 13,000 peasants, and 450 guns left by General Izelstrom in his hurried flight from that city.

Suvorov with his Russian veterans had taken Wilnow and was rapidly approaching Warsaw. Kosciuszko, the great patriot, was not to make his last stand. Calm in the presence of danger, a military genius, loved by his soldiers as he was, he had other difficulties besides directing a rudely organized army. There was much dissension in Warsaw. It was hard to reconcile the different parties, the nobles and peasants; he lacked force and power in inspiring the people with firm resolution. If he chose advisers from one party, he was suspected by the other; if he roused the peasants, he alienated the nobles, and while trying to cope with these difficulties of defense, the great Russian army under Suvorov came closer and closer to Warsaw. Suvorov was a general quite different from Frederick William, he struck at the head of things at once and in the Polish revolt he knew that Warsaw must be taken for Russia. He had extraordinary qualities of great value to a soldier. He inspired his soldiers, he never failed to lead them to victory, he was tempered thru the fire of long Turkish wars; when he struck, he struck hard and followed up his victory with fury and massacre. His battle cry was: "Forward with cold steel! Down with them all! Death to the enemy!"

Kosciuszko called back Domkrowski who was still in pursuit of the retreating Prussians. He, himself, with 8,000 men left Warsaw to meet Suvorov. Only two days before, Suvorov had annihilated a Polish army of 10,000 men at Brzesc. Kosciuszko coming upon some Russian troops under Fersen attack them with the hope of a victory before

Suvorov came. He was defeated in a bloody battle at Maciejowice; Powinski of whom he had expected help failing to bring him support at the proper moment. But only 2000 of his heroic soldiers survived. He, himself, charged again and again at the head of his cavalry in a desperate effort to break the Russian lines. Three horses were shot under him. He was wounded and taken prisoner.

This was October 10, 1794. By November 4, Suvorov had reached Proza, a suburb of Warsaw, with 22,000 soldiers. It was defended by about 10,000 soldiers and citizens. Suvorov captured it, butchered the 10,000 defenders. About as many more of the inhabitants were slaughtered in cold blood. The next day Warsaw, the Polish capital, fell. Executions, arrests and exiles to Siberia followed. Thousands of Polish refugees were forced into the depleted Russian army. Generals Domkrowski, Modalinski, Kosciuszko and other patriots were sent to St. Petersburg in chains.

Poland was again prostrate at the feet of the proud Empress. The three vultures were gathered once more about the carcass of their miserable victim. In the scramble that followed for Polish territory, the Empress decided that Austria should have the four southern Palatinates of Poland, Cracow, Sandomir, Lublin, and part of Chelm. This included most of the land between the rivers Bug, Vistula and Pilica. Prussia got the cities of Warsaw and Praza and the districts of Poland west of the rivers Pilica, Vistula and Bug and the Niemen. The remainder of Poland by far the greater part, went to Russia, (she gave nothing to Austria for her part in the second partition of 1793) The last partition treaty was signed January 3, 1795. The results of the three partitions gave Russia 181,000 square miles and added a population of 6,000,000; Prussia 57,000 square miles with a popu-

lation of 2,5000,000; while Austria got 45,000 square miles with a population of 3,000,000.

By a secret treaty all three Powers agreed to "recognize the necessity of abolishing everything which may recall the memory of the existence of a Kingdom of Poland". The country was ordered to give public thanks in the churchs for the blessings thus conferred on it. Stqnislaus, the wretched, was on November 25, 1795 directed to abdicate the last Polish throne at Grodno. From then on he was a pensioner in the pay of the Russian Government. The vast and acient country, the great Polish Republic, the haven of religious tolerance, ceased to exist, but the POLISH NATION still lives.

The Poet will not always say:

"Oh! ye exiles who so long wonder over the earth,

Where will you find a resting place for your

weary feet?

The wild dove has its nest, and the worm a

clod of earth.

The Pole has but a grave."

IV.

IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

FROM EXPOSTULATION.

Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France,
By Vendorme's pile and Schoenbrun's wall,
And Poland, gasping on her lance,
The impulse of our cheering call?
And shall the slave, beneath our eye,
Clank o'er our fields his hateful chain?
And toss his fettered arms on high,
And groan for Freedom's gift, in vain?

Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be
A refuge for the stricken slave?
And shall the Russian serf go free
By Baikal's lake and Neva's wave?
And shall the wintry-bossomed Dane
Relax the iron hand of pride,
And bid his bondman cast the chain
From fettered soul and limb aside?

Go, let us ask of Constantine
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat;
To beg the lord of Mahmond's line
To spare the struggling Sulliate;
Will not the scorching answer come
From Turband Turk, and Scornful Russ:
'Go, loose you fettered slaves at home
Then turn and ask the like of us!'

John Greenleaf Whittier.

POLISH IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The history of immigration into the United States records two great sources. Confined mostly to Europe, the first source had its seat in the countries of the north and west, claiming up to 1882 87% of the homes of our immigrants. The second source marks a shift to the countries from the south and east until in 1903 fully 75% of the new-comers were from these countries Russia and Poland in 1821 had only 1% of the immigrants, while in 1903 16.5% came from these countries, while the Germans have had almost the reverse, their per cent in 1821 being 42.3 % and in 1903 only 4.5% of the total immigration. In other words our immigration is largely made up of Hebrews, Italians, Poles, and their neighbors instead of, as formerly, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians.

The Poles are a distinct people belonging to the Slavic race of western Europe. Formerly known as the kingdom of Poland, their country is now divided among Russia, Germany and Austria. They are today of high importance in United States Immigration for they have risen to thirdplace in numbers, being lead only by the South Italians and Hebrews. Physically, socially, and geographically they are between the Muscovites of western Europe and the Teutonic peoples of eastern Europe, but do not belong to either. Politically, they have looked on Russia and Germany almost equally as their enemies. It has been said that their civilization in many ways excelled their eastern neighbors, but at the same time lacked some of the stable qualities of the nations on their western boundaries.

In physical inheritance they resemble the Slavic races

more than those of North West Europe, but have a strong tendency toward the Northern races. Deniker names them after their chief river the "Vistulan" and puts them quite apart from both of their neighbors. He has written of them as being somewhat darker than the Lithuanians, but lighter than the Russians, and says they show more Teutonic than they do of the Asiatic element of Europe. They are rather broad-headed light of complexion, with compact bodies, and strong well-developed limbs. Many are however, of a brunette type which suggests a mixture with the dark races of the Mediterranean countries. In temperament they resemble their southern neighbors, the Hungarians, being more high-strung than either the typical German or Russian.

At one time their great, proud kingdom included the territory of the Lithuanians, the Livs, the White Russians, the Slovaks, most of Little Russia, the Moravians, part of Bohemia and a large part of Germany. No European country in Europe has been surrounded by more different peoples than they, no country has had greater racial, social, and political problems to deal with in consequence, yet no country has suffered more at the hands of its enemies. This grand, beautiful, boundryless country extending from the Black to the Baltic Sea was finally, after decades of blood-shed, partitioned among Russia, Germany and Austria in 1795, known as the greatest tragedy of the old World. This act has had its effect upon Europe's political and social history, and today the great wave of Polish immigration is leavening the great melting-pot of the nations, the United States. Six-sevenths of Poland and about 8,000,000 people belong to Russia, while about 4,000,000 people are subject to Germany and 5,000,000 to Austria. There are today about 1,500,000

Poles elsewhere in Europe and South-America, and 3,500,000 in the United States. Of the population of Russia. Poland, about two-thirds are Poles. The Hebrews who have a larger population in Poland than in any other country, due to the religious freedom of Poland, come next in numbers there, which is about as much as the other four peoples of Russian Poland, namely: the Germans, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and "Great Russians".

It is needless to say that in a study of Polish immigration the Jews cannot be left out for they are largely representative of the same type of civilization. Many Jews both in Poland and on coming to this country have changed to Polish names, and altho there is little social mingling such as inter-marriage, it is often hard to distinguish the Jew from the Pole. In 1885 the Russian government prohibited all immigration except that of the Jews and Poles, yet the Poles may be considered a more permanent factor in immigration to the United States.

Between the years 1899-1900 the immigration Commission reports 949,064 Poles in this country, from all sources, of which 659,267 or 69.5% were men, and 289,797, or 30.5% women. In 1900 the estimated Polish population in Europe was 17,000,000 and during the preceding decade the average number of immigrants in the Polish exodus from this source was 78,528 each year. It is believed that these and hence the following figures are underestimated as many Poles were upon arrival listed as Germans, Russians or Austrians.

During the years 1901-1909 inclusive, 745,306 Poles were recorded as having entered the immigrant doors of the United States and of these only 2,990 or 4% had the western states as

their destination. As with most other European immigrants they were destined and remained in the New England, Eastern and Middle West states with a slight sprinkling in the Northwest, a few in Texas, and California and practically none in the South Atlantic or Gulf States. Those that came between 1899 and 1900 were distributed as follows: Pennsylvania 254,281, New York state 205,430, Illinois 122,741, New Jersey 83,291, Connecticut 44,227, Michigan 35,971, Massachusetts 82,079, Ohio 32,961, Wisconsin 16,943, Maryland 11,349, Rhode Island 7,437, Missouri 5,967, Minnesota 5,628, and Delaware 4,688. This proportion of distribution has remained about the same. The large cities seem to be the center of Polish population and hence New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania with their respective metropolises contain, as is true of the Jews, a very large per cent of all Polish immigrants. Of the effects of this unequal distribution more will be said later. Comparing the concentration of this Polish population with that of other foreign immigrants, we find that in one hundred and sixty of the principal cities of the United States, the total per cent of foreign born was for Russia, 74.9%; German Poland 68.7%; Russian Poland 62.7%, Italy 62.4%, Ireland 62%, Bohemia 54%, Austria 53.5%, Hungary 53.4%, Germany 50.2%, France 49.5%, England 46.3%, Scotland 46%, Holland 44%, Sweden 36.3%, Switzerland 35.3%, Norway 22.4% , and Mexico 7.1% against the total foreign born which averages 49.5%. Thus we see the Polish immigrant is rather to be studied in the city than country.

The causes of Polish immigration are not confined to them alone. They share with the Hebrews and Italians five main reasons for seeking our shores. They may be cited as follows in the order

of their importance: (1) Economic opportunities of this country, (2) Poverty of the peasant classes at home, (3) Desire for religious and political freedom, (4) Presence of relatives and friends here, (5) Ease and cheapness of the voyage. There is not space here to elaborate on these causes for Polish immigration, but the first and third causes are by far the most important.

As to the financial conditions of Poles entering our doors, it is rather below the average, due to the fact probably that it is the poorer classes that immigrate. The poor peasant class of Poland is by far much below that of the former poor German or even Irish immigrant. Out of the 949,064 admitted between 1899-1900, 763,257 Poles showed money to the extent of \$11,267.033. This amount based on the number admitted was \$11.87 per person and on the number showing money \$14.76. Those showing \$30 or over were only 5.1% and those showing \$50 or over, 2.8%. Of other Slavic races, by way of comparison, Russian immigrants having \$50 or over, were 7.2%, Ruthenian 1.7%, Slovak 3%, Magyar 4.9%, Lithuanian 3.5%, and Bohemian 15.8%. Comparing again the Poles with the other two nationalities of largest immigration, the Hebrews and South Italians, we find the former to have only 11.8% of their entrants with \$50 or more in their possession, while the latter have only 5.4% with that amount.

There is a larger per cent of general labors among the Poles here than any other immigrating race except the South Italians. Nine-tenths of the first generation and about three-fourths of the second were engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. Only about one-tenth of all foreign Polish breadwinners are reported engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The first Polish Colony in the United States was made in Panna Marya, Texas, in 1855 by 300 peasants who left their country to escape political oppression. The next colony in Wisconsin, began shortly after this by peasant again coming to Portage Country by way of Canada. According to the records of the Roman Catholic Church 16 Polish parishes, most of them rural colonies were established in Wisconsin, Michigan and Texas between the years 1854-1876. The steady flow of Polish immigration did not begin, however, until after the Civil War. Before 1860 there were only 7,298 Poles in this country, by 1870 there were 14,436 and the year 1880 recorded a total to date of 48,557, this large increase being due to the Franco Prussian wars. In 1880 there were 16 Polish churches in Wisconsin, 17 in Texas, 6 in Michigan and 6 in Missouri. By 1885 the Slavic stream was strong and the percent of Polish peasants decreased, and they are to this day in the vast majority. A recent investigation made by the Immigration Commission covered a study of the principal Polish rural settlements in states where Poles are a factor in agriculture. The places emphasized were (1) Early settlements made by groups on western lands, (2) larger settlements originated by owners of large tracts of land for the purpose of intense agricultural development, (3) recent rural settlements in eastern communities, mostly made on semi-abandoned farms. The rural communities visited in connection with this plan were, Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Texas. This did not include some large settlements of the Northwest. They found in the northern states 34 parishes approximating 4,856 families and 36,566 persons, in the eastern states 54 parishes, having about 82,857 persons and in the southern states 13 parishes with 7,225

persons. Portage County, Wisconsin, lead the counties with 11 parishes, 1,983 families and 12,910 persons.

Probably the main reason Poles become farmers is because they want to be land owners rather than laborers. They go where the land is cheap. They are very responsive, change quickly to economic conditions and adopt themselves well to the community peculiarities. The potato industry has been their chief pursuit in Portage County, Wisconsin. In the west they emphasize commercial crops such as, wheat, flax, barley, peas, hay, dairy products and live-stock. Few grow vegetables or fruit there. Cotton is the chief crop in Texas. They specialize rather in the New England States in intensified crops such as onions and tobacco.

Alexander E. Chance, in the "Survey" for May, 1911, says of this recent immigration:

"Recent agricultural immigrants to New England represent three distinct economic types. First are the laborers, Portuguese, Finnish, Italian and Polish chiefly employed in gangs on the cranberry bogs of Cape Cod or market gardens near Providence and Boston. Second, the highly specialized agriculture which is of the large capitalistic sort, and demands low priced laborers on one hand and efficient managers on the other - dear land and cheap labor. These laborers are separated from land ownership or land proprietorship by an almost impassable gulf. The third class are those of the rural communities of land owning foreigners who occupy fertile soils, such as those in the Connecticut valley, and who are engaged in the production of special crops, onions, tobacco, fruit or market garden produce. These colonies for the most part are prospering wonderfully and have become a permanent addition to rural counties of their adoption. Their present problems are connected with social, educa-

tional, moral and political questions".

"The Slavic element here", he continues, "consist largely of Polish and Bohemian settlers who buy the cheaper rougher land less adopted to general farming. This exhausted land has for many years been idle, and of late Polish immigrants have been buying it and trying to make a living on it. Many, however, are discouraged and after investing the savings of years of factory work, give up and return to the old life. Not having had experience the Pole is not an expert farmer and often his hardest labor and most careful attention to details do not suffice to win him a meagre subsistence from the sterile hillsides. At first, land could be bought cheap. from \$4 to \$8 per acre, but later "land sharks" manipulated things so that much worthless land was sold at high prices to the ignorant purchaser."

"Exclusive of Jews who have settled in comparatively large numbers in New London County, the Poles have the largest rural element. Poles, Bohemians and other Slavic immigrants have bought and settled much land in Tolland County, Connecticut. On the whole very few of the immigrants employed in the textile mills in this region become farmers. The city to country movement is poor. The glowing advertisements, and chance to escape factory life of the great cities together with visits to prosperous country friends have induce many to try farm-life, but few succeed. The causes of discouragement seem to be (1) the isolation of the women and children, (2) poor soil, (3) primitive methods, (4) inadequate facilities for marketing. All in all, this Polish immigration to this abandoned farm area has not been very successful from an economic standpoint, but the cause is not so much in the fault of

the Pole himself as the conditions he has tried to cope with."

By contrast, consider what Ross says of the Poles and their rural settlements:

"The Poles have come here to stay and as Bohemians make good farmers. The thickest Polish rural settlements are in the north west and southwest where cheap land was most available. One third of all the Polish farmers are in Wisconsin. Of late they are coming to own "deserted farms" in the Connecticut Valley. Crowded with several other families in old Yankee farmhouses, the Pole is raising with the aid of his numerous progeny, incredible crops of onions and tobacco.

"In old Hadley," reports Professor Emily Balch of Wellesly College, "all up and down the beautiful elm shaded street the old colonial mansions are occupied by Poles. In one year these Poles, who were but one fifth of the population accounted for two-thirds of the births.

"In twenty-one rural counties of Minnesota the Polish women have borne on an average, seven children in the course of fourteen years of married life. One American-Irish wife out of thirteen is childless, one American-English wife out of twelve is childless, but the Polish wives are only one out of fifty-eight childless. In a county where the Poles although but one third of the population registered 58% of the births. Fourteen years ago Father Kruszka reckoned that in this county there were 700 such Polish communities averaging one hundred families each. It is a quiet conquest without spear or trumpet, but made by Polish mothers."

So everything equal the Poles do make good farmers, what they want are the conditions. They are independent, resourceful,

self reliant, co-operative, and earnest workers. They gain knowledge from their neighbors, and their adaptability and improvement can be seen in the second generation. Many of the younger farmers, especially in the Middle West states, show decided evidence of material progress. They are eager to learn and take advantage of the state Agricultural schools and short courses. Examples might be pointed out at Radom, Illinois, or Independence, Wisconsin. In these communities, large barns, numerous well-constructed out-houses and substantial brick farmhouses line the roads. Land twenty years ago heavily wooded is now 90% under cultivation. The Polish farmer is here to stay, and he and his wife are not to be out done even by the thrifty Germans. Next to immediate social improvement among the Poles both in the country and city, a movement from the overcrowded city to the land would be the best thing possible for the American-Pole.

The curse of the Polish immigrant in the United States at present is their congested conditions in the city, from which they seem unable to escape. According to the Immigration Commission Report of 1910-11, of the races of recent immigration to this country, the largest proportions of wage-earners is furnished by the Poles, being 9.6% thus engaged of the total number from whom information was received. They are closely followed by the Slovaks and then South Italians, and after the north Italians, and Magyars, Lithuanians, and Croatians. Based upon information received for 48,707 employees of the twenty-one principal industries, the percentage of Polish wage earners compared with the Hebrews and South-Italians are:

	Poles	Hebrews	Italians
1. Agricultural implements and vehicles	5,246	65	316
2. Boots and shoes	216	511	685
3. Cigars and Tobacco	850	133	1,927
4. Clothing	1,158	3618	2,815
5. Coal mining (bituminous)	7,370		4,272
6. Collars, cugs and shirts	4	2	6
7. Construction work	201	2	1,943
8. Copper mining and smelting	73		57
9. Cotton goods	8,920	69	714
10. Furniture	482	8	55
11. Glass	671	4	628
12. Gloves	2	37	44
13. Iron and steel	7,897	22	1,793
14. Iron or mining	485	1	260
15. Feather	2,799	85	384
16. Oil refining	1,031	11	157
17. Silk dyeing	5		293
18. Silk goods	259	254	270
19. Slaughtering and meat packing	7,121	195	171
20. Sugar refining	1,758	14	79
21. Woolen and Worsted goods	<u>2,159</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>3,301</u>
Total.....	48,707	5310	20,170

It is evident that altho these figures show a great diversity of employment among Polish wage-earners, they appear with the largest number of employees being in the sugar refineries, Agricultural implement establishments, cotton mills, bituminous coal mining, slaughtering and meat packing, iron and steel works and leather manufacturing. The Hebrews, however, have their largest propor-

tions in making clothing, and the South Italians in construction work and clothing manufacture.

In their book "The Immigration Problem", Jenks and Lauck under "The status of Immigrants in Industries", say of the Poles: "Of the races of recent arrival in the United States, the largest proportion of wage earners is furnished by the Poles, the representation of this race being almost one-tenth of the entire operating forces of the principal industries of the countries."

Since the condition of the Poles in the large cities is so closely related to the part they play in the fundamental industries of this country, it is almost impossible to mention one without involving the other, but the subject of industries is too large to deal with here and complete statistics may be found in eighteen volumes of the United States Immigration Commission Report entitled "Immigrants in Industries".

Passing to the question of earnings which is one of great interest, we find the average income of the foreign born Pole to be only \$365 which is by far among the lowest of all recent immigrants, that of the Hebrew being \$461 and the South Italians \$368, while the Servians averaged only \$325, and the Syrians \$321. In 1908 the Russell Sage Foundation Investigation found that an American family needed from \$635-\$735 per year to exist in a respectable way, yet the same investigation found 96% of the cases examined to be earning less than this per year. The majority of Polish immigrants come in this class.

Standards of living and social conditions can best be studied by examining certain sections and segregated districts of our large cities. Milwaukee has 100,000 Poles, New York 50,000, Philadelphia

40,000, Cleveland 50,000, Detroit 30,000, Buffalo 80,00 and Chicago 300,000. Their chief evil seems to be the overcrowding of tenement houses. The poorer classes live under an intense pressure of existence. Several people are often found to be living in one room. It is not exceptional to find sixty immigrants living in one two-story tenement house. The Poles in this city and most of the larger cities average two persons to a room. which is a little higher than their Italian immigrant neighbors, and slightly less than the Hebrews. Yet in Buffalo alone, which has the largest Polish colony except Chicago, 4,000 Poles own their homes, 5,000 have deposits in banks amounting to \$2,500,000, and 12,000,000 have taxable property. There seems to be a new spirit of progress and improvement on foot in Buffalo. Of late many Polish families have been leaving the tenement houses and building cottages, which altho very small are quite comfortable. In the two almost solid Polish colonies in Buffalo there are over 1,000 shops and places of business. The largest business in the city, the Schreiber Brewing Company, is managed by a Pole. Mention might be made here of Lipowisz's wholesale grocery and M. J. Nowak's plating works, two large establishments owned and operated by Poles.

John Daniels, Director of Buffalo's social survey says of the Polish people of that city.

"The Poles are industrious, thrifty, home-loving, home-founding people. They possess many qualities fundamental to the best citizenship. They have built up a large area of this city. 221 establishments employ 14,113 Poles, 2,429 women and 11,609 men, of this theformer being employed largely in factories, hotels, and laundries, the later in manufacturing. The Poles supply one-fifth

of the laborers of this city. 60% of them are laborers, 30% semi-skilled and 10% skilled. 64% receive wages averaging \$1.75 per day, 32% \$1.75 to \$2.50, 40% \$2.50 to \$3.50, one half of one per cent over \$3.50. They average thirteen to a house, and one story buildings of two or three families are their predominant style of dwelling.

There is a high death rate of infants among them. In 1909 38% of those under a year died and 37% under five years of age. Law breaking is a problem among them, their districts are full of saloons which is largely responsible for this. Twenty-two per cent of the school children of Buffalo are Polish. Measures to Americanize them should be (1) to reduce unemployment among them by establishing employment bureaus, and schools of vocational training. (2) Improve housing conditions, by tenant inspection, and hygienic education. (3) compulsory education and school attendance. "Like Buffalo Polish social problems and standards of living are about the same in Milwaukee, Chicago, Philadelphia, Toledo, Detroit and New York. It cannot be said that generally their standards are lower than the races of the southern and eastern countries. The cost of living in Europe is to be sure much lower than in the United States, but the difference in prices is not as great as it is in wages. While Polish immigrant wages are five times as high in the United States as in Europe, the cost of living is only three times as great, hence the working Pole lives on three-fifths of the real wages of the American laborer with whom he comes to compete. There is often keen competition between immigrant laborers of this type and American laborers, brought on however, not so much by the Poles so-called low standard of living as his unequal distribution in the

north east states and in communities where coal mining and manufacture are predominant immigrant occupations. Let it be remembered that the Polish immigrants have 26.9% of all the gainful workers among foreign immigrants, 30.87% in mining and manufactures pursuits in domestic and personal service 19.6% in trade and transportation, 11.5% in professional service, and 10.5% in agricultural pursuits, while the greatest contrast between foreign and native elements is seen in agricultural pursuits which contain 45.7% of gainful native workers and only 19.7% of foreign parentage, and in all manufacturing pursuits 37.7% of all gainful workers of foreign parentage and only 17.3% of those of native parentage. The Polish newcomer is building our railroads, paving our streets, digging our coal, heating our iron and sewing himself into our clothes not because he chooses to, but because, as the German and Irish immigrant of the past did, he must exist, and without money for land or business he is doing his best under the conditions he has stepped into. Give him but the proper surroundings and opportunity and he will Americanize as quickly and as thoroughly as the earlier immigrants have done in this country. Slow assimilation of which he is accused, is not a Polish characteristic, but rather a failure on the part of the United States to handle this share of the immigration problem. It is true the Poles bring with ^{them} a spirit of nationality and seem to make a strong point of honor not to drift with the American current and thus lose touch with those left behind. It is true the patriotic Poles seem to resist absorption and take pride in clinging to their own speed and traditions in home, church and school, but ten years of good treatment here can do more to change these ideals than two hundred years of oppression has done in his own country.

All things equal they will fuse socially and racially when economic conditions, and public opinion invite them to do so.

Polish people have instinctive social traits. Among the new immigrants are found national alliances and what is called the Polish National Alliance to which the leading Poles of America belong. This powerful organization is doing much to aid patriots in Europe and to smooth the way for new-comers to America. It has opened in New York City a Polish Home at an expense of \$80,000 where Polish immigrants may be temporarily sheltered. This Alliance shaped its policy so as to exclude the interference of the Polish Clergy in its affairs thus departing from an old Slavic custom. Fifty per cent of the 85,000 members are citizens of the United States and they have felt strong enough to act and speak with out standing under protection of the Church. It has recently established the Polish National Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania.

In some communities the Polish farmers of the better class are fostering numerous social enterprises. Most of them have no common church affiliation, and few regular church connections. Their need, as that of the city, is a better social life. The Polish-American Farmer's Day held at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, March 31, 1911, should be the forerunner of a new spirit among the Poles. Instead of having these days every few years, they should be planned to come several times a year, and under proper auspices could be made in reality so.

About 75% of the Poles in this country are Roman Catholics, 6% Lutherans and 5% members of the Greek Orthodox Church, Protestants outside of these claim twenty Baptist Churches, and one Congregational Church. In the last thirty years many Catholics have become inde-

pendent Catholic Churches in the United States. They have services in Polish instead of Latin and are free from Roman influence, and very liberal in every way.

From the standpoint of social betterment and good citizenship, the Chicago Tract Society has done more for the Poles of America than any other force, bar none, not even the Catholic church itself. It has its central headquarters in Chicago, the home of more Polish immigrants than any other city in the world, and has for twenty-seven years been laboring through its tireless colporteurs to uplift Polish standards of social intercourse and progress. This inter-nominal, inter-racial organization has christian literature in thirty-eight languages, employs missionaries speaking twenty-four languages, and under the direction of Dr. Jesse W. Brooks, spends annually over \$20,000 in this work. They reach the Poles through representatives of their own languages in twelve of the middle states, altho the bulk of their work is carried ^{on} /among the 300,000 Poles of Chicago. They aid them in finding employment and learning our language, teach good citizenship, conduct public and private meetings, visit the factory and home, and by co-operating with other benevolent and philanthropic societies, not only promote the physical, and social betterment of alien Polish immigrants but represent to a large degree the unified spirit, purpose, and aims of all Evangelical Churches, in their ideals of Christian manhood and American citizenship.

As to the future of Polish immigration in the United States, little can be said. War operations have affected some of the most highly efficient manufacturing centers of Russian Poland and disorganized economic life of the whole of Poland. Mr. Fredric C.

Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island states the situation with regards to the European War thus: "What will happen after the war? Will America receive hundred of thousands of people weakened by the war? Will the Germans and the French, who have contributed but little to our alien population in recent years flee from future military conscription and oppressive taxes? Or will the vacuum created by the destruction of millions of able-bodied men provide a market for every one's labor and thus extra raising wages and the rebuilding of the country retain the population at home? Opinions differ. It is probable that the conflicting currents will be set in motion, and that those who predict a greatly increased immigration will find their opinions unconfirmed, and that with the rebuilding of Europe the tide will be ultimately checked and in fact reversed."

"One fact, however, must be kept in mind, that only a very small proportion of our recent immigration, and especially that coming from Austria and Russia the home of the Poles is not of the race politically dominant in the country from which it comes. It is largely Polish, Jewish, Lithanian, Finnish and Lettish. The last census enumeration of foreigners from Russia shows that more than one half speak Jewish and one fourth Polish, and the Pole is oppressed as much as any of them."

Hon. James Bryce said in "The American Commonwealth", written before the war, as to the future of immigration:

"It may, therefore, be expected that the nations of these parts of Europe, such as Russia, Poland and South Italy where wages are lowest and conditions least promising, will continue their movement to the United States until there is a nearer approach to an equilibrium between the general attractiveness of life for the poorer

classes in the Old World and in the New World."

Whatever be the case, the four million Poles here are a part of us, are here to stay, and must be dealt with rather as Americans than foreigners. Their great boons would be a general movement from city to country, higher wages, better education, improved housing conditions and above all, social uplifting. Whether or not the war will help to solve these problems is a question of the immediate future which time alone can answer.

V

POLAND AND THE GREAT WAR

AMERICA TO POLAND

For thee, dear Poland, many tears are shed,
By many peoples who have never seen
Thy stricken face, yet who are daily led
To think of thee, - their loving aid is given.

Thy night is dark and dreary is thy way,
Thy cry is long and seemeth, too, in vain;
But darkest darkness may be nearest day
Of thine uplifting, - liberty again.

Columbia ever feels her debt to thee,
Remembers the heroes two of distant past;
As long as she shall breathe in liberty
Kindest memory of thee shall last.

America with generous hand of aid,
And heart of love, bids thee to Hope arise;
Invokes the blessing of the nations' Head
To give thee peace, beneath true Freedom's skies.

D. D. Jenkins.

POLAND AND THE GREAT WAR

Poland is a very important arena of action in this present war. Not only does the attitude of her twenty-four million people have much bearing upon the success of the warring parties, but more fighting has been done on Polish soil, more land lost and won, more prisoners taken, more homes ruined, more villages destroyed, and more lives of non-combatants sacrificed, than in any other country engaged in the Great War.

About a hundred years ago Poland was geographically obliterated by the Congress of Vienna. The once powerful nation, that had been of so much consequence to Napoleon's military and political calculations, whose area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, who had nineteen neighbors around her and no natural barriers, closed by the action of this assemblage to be a free nation.

Germany, and Russia, and Austria, each ruling many Poles, agreed at this Congress to (1) guarantee them political representation, (2) to retain their fundamental national institutions, (3) not to restrict commerce among the Poles of the three divisions. A manifesto which was given the Poles by King Friedrich Wilhelm said: "Tho incorporated into Prussia you need not renounce your nationality. You shall preserve your rights under the constitution which I intend to grant to my loyal subjects and like other provinces you will receive a separate provincial constitution."

None of these Powers kept their benevolent promises or agreements. They were disregarded and trampled under the feet of these countries, and instead was substituted a system of severe economic, social and religious oppression. The partitions of 1772,

1791, 1793 were purely acts of national robbery, and for 142 years have the participants of this crime held the unfortunate Poles in subjugation and slavery. Thru the efforts of Russia to stir up trouble between the peasant class and the nobles the slaughter of the latter by the former was accomplished in 1864 in Galacia. She crushed the Polish Revolution of 1863 by emancipating Polish serfs so as to gain their sympathies against the nobles, who almost succeeded in this bloody uprising in freeing their country from the Muscovite yoke and from the oppression which began in the closing years of the reign of Alexander I, and has continued to the present time.

Prussia used more systematic means of assimilating her Polish subjects, for she tried to crush out their nationality by colonizing Polish farms with German settlers by use of the so called "Polish Expropriation Law". Seinkewicz, the famous author of "Quo Vadis", has called their Colonization Commission "a black crime against humanity", and loudly protested it in such a vigorous and organized way that Prussia has practically failed in this attempt and has only increased the dauntless Polish spirit and national solidity. Germany prohibited the use of the Polish language on letters, street signs, and shop-windows; and went so far as to attract the attention of the world in 1905 by her brutal flogging of Polish children because they prayed in their mother tongue. The inhuman legislation authorizing millions to be spent in the colonization scheme has been an absolute failure. In the face of this the sons of Poland, denied freedom in politics, have directed their energies to art, and science, and culture, proving to the world their ability, rare talents, and gifts. They excel

as musicians, sculptors, painters, artists, and writers of the highest rank. In the last ten years three Poles were Finance Ministers of Austria, and more than twenty have been members of Austrian Cabinets. After the peace Austria made in 1866 with Hungary, Polish national spirit and culture began to awaken. Polish schools were allowed and the official language in the Universities of Cracow and Lemberg, two of the largest in the world, became Polish.

The Poles have suffered least under Austrian rule, and they trust the Hapsburg dynasty as the only one of the three Powers that has in any way considered Polish freedom.

No one has paid greater tribute to the tragedy of Poland, to her unfortunate partition, and century and a half of oppression, than Tennyson when he said:

"Us, O Just and Good,
 Forgive, who smiled when she was torn in three
 Us, who stand now, when we should aid the right -
 A matter to be wept with tears of blood!"

One of the real causes of this war was the growing enmity between Russia and Germany. Others have been forced into it by position or circumstance. Austria is, too, in it not so much because she is the ally of Germany, but rather because she is opposed to the designs of Russia and her so called Pan-Slavic propaganda in the Balkans and Near East. The Sarajevo murder was the match that touched her too long desired action against Russia.

The Poles do not trust Russia, any more than any of the other spoil sharers. How can she rely on the promises and justice

of any country? Her hopes have been frustrated too many times. She has lost every way possible. Her sons are in three opposing armies. Each of the countries have made big promises if Poland will remain loyal, yet whom is she to trust? Why should a country of ten centuries of history, and twenty-four millions of people be ruthlessly ground between the surging armies of opposing forces? The way she decides (if she can) will play a big part in Russian or German fortunes. Some say she should be pro-Austrian and pro-German and declare forever against Russia. But the German spirit is as abhorrent to her as is the Russian arrogance. Her religion is that of Austria, but Austria could not control the whole of Poland any more than any one of the other two could.

The ideal outcome would be an independent Poland. Poland wants Russia pushed back, but does not want Germany to beat England and France. Poland's most intense ideals after nationalism are art, and culture, hence she does not wish the defeat of France and her culture. To Poland, French defeat is the defeat of civilization, a victory of military triumph over art and culture. Poland feels that German victory is not only her death-knell, but also that of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Denmark. Poland has borne the brunt of this war, and if after it is over she gains no freedom it will be a still greater disappointment and source of suffering. It will mean that the 26,000 square miles of Prussian Poland, the 35,000 square miles of Austrian Poland and the 94,000 square miles of Russian Poland will, every bit of it, be slave soil of a more oppressive nature than it has been in the past.

Several prominent Austrian, German, and Russian writers have in the last few years openly said that an independent Poland could not in any way menace any of the three countries. But since the

war, each country seems to present arguments for uniting Poland with her, and claiming her support. In September 1914 Gabriel Hanotaud, the great French historian said: "Under the Czar Poland shall be born again, free in religion, language and autonomy, and Europe and the whole liberal world will know what they have been fighting for. Let our adversaries say what they are fighting for, It is none other than to maintain their yoke of servitude. We will make a free Europe, free and united. France is used to sacrifices. She needs only to feel that her heart is heating in union with that of the allies. England does not wish to incur the charge of dishonor. Belgium does not wish to submit to the German yoke. Russia is restoring the kingdom of Poland. Come, then without fear, and without reproach, and engage in the great impending battle. The cause is understood before the tribunal of God."

Mr. Clemenceau in his "L'Hornme Libre" hails this coming birth of Poland thus: "One of the greatest crimes of history is thus to be ended. There are 300,000 Poles in the armies of the German Kaiser, and they ask nothing better than to direct their weapons against those who lead them bound in chains of iron discipline. But Poland will rise miraculously like Lazarus from the grave."

According to the results of the proclamation made by Grand Duke Nicholas in which he offered the Poles their choice of staying as they were or joining Russia against Germany and Austria they were inclined to look more favorably on the latter. Altho they have reason to mistrust Russia judging by her past failure to fulfill promises, their leader in the Duma has announced their solidarity with the Russian people. Similarly the Polish Nobles of the Govern-

ment of Minsk outside the kingdom have expressed their loyalty to the Czar. In London the young Poles of that city are trying to form a Polish legion to join the English ranks, and the same thing is true of France. It might be said here that a large proportion of the German soldiers slaughtered in the recent struggle to gain Verdun were Poles who have thus borne the brunt of the German campaigns on both fronts.

The real question is, which do the Poles hate most, Russia or Germany? Russia has unmercifully wronged Poland for one hundred and forty-two years, but Prussia has been the radical foe of the Poles for a thousand years (excepting the Turks) from the day in 900 when Morgrave Gero put to the sword the Lechie tribes in the Havel and the Spree, and to this day, when Emperor William II allows Drzymola and many Poles like him on the Wortsa to live - "not in houses built on land, but in courts." Yet we must recall that during the year 1863 the most terrible year of Poland's history more than 100,000 Poles perished on the scaffold or were sent to Siberia. During the Russo-Japanese War according to the "Memoirs" of Prince Kropatkin their families were oppressed and starved at home, while the men were forced to fight an enemies' battles in Manchuria.

Austria, like Russia and Germany, declares that Poland and her people should stand for Austria against the invader and arch-enemy, Russia. She seems to have strong proofs and makes glaring promises as does Russia. On September 15, 1914, an article entitled "The Poles and the War" appeared in the Oesterreichische Rundschau, a leading periodical published in Vienna. The article was the first of a series on the topic by Dr. Josef Buzek, a prominent university professor and member of the Reichsrath. The opening paragraph shows the general spirit of the topic and smacks of a

subtle flattery, pointing out historic deeds in Austria and Poland's so called age-long hate for Russia. In part he says:

"The historic mission of the Poles throughout the whole course of Polish history consists in the protection they have afforded as fore posts of the Occident to Western civilization founded upon the principles of the Catholic Church, against attack by the Bysantine Orient.- - - - -

"In the present world war, which may change the map of Europe for a long period to come, the Poles will once more take up their historic mission in closest union with Austria-Hungary. Their struggle will concern the driving of the hereditary Russian foe from Polish ground, and a lasting union of the Polish portion of Russia with the monarchy ruled by the scepter of the Hapsburg cause. Cracow voted a million kronen for the war-chest of the Polish legions, and Lemberg a million and a half, while other Galician cities gave according to their means. Dr. Buzek closes with these words:

"While the Poles are thus ready to pour forth their money and their blood for their monarchs and for liberation of their brothers from Russian lordship, they hope that from the battle fields where their blood is shed in common will proceed the re-birth of the Polish nation, and a marked increase in the power of the Hapsburg monarchy, and a reconciliation between the Catholic Slavic world and the German race."

As to the actual promises of the Czar they are as remarkable as are these Austrian attacks. On August 15 the Czar gave the Poles this manifesto thru the Grand Duke Nicholas:

"The hour is sounded when the sacred dream of your fathers

may be realized. A hundred and fifty years ago the living body of Poland was torn to pieces, but her soul survived, and she lived in hope that for the Polish people would come an hour of regeneration and reconciliation with Russia.

"The Russian Army brings you the solemn views of this reconciliation, which effaces the frontiers severing the Polish people, whom it unites conjointly under the scepter of the czar of Russia. Under this scepter Poland will be born again, free in her religion, her language and autonomy.

"Russia expects from you only the loyalty to which history has bound you. With open heart and a brotherly hand extended, great Russia comes to meet you. She believes that the sword which struck her enemies at Grunnewald is not yet rusted.

"Russia, from the shores of the Pacific to the North Sea, marches in arms. The dawn of a new life begins for you. In this glorious dawn is seen the sign of the Cross - the symbol of suffering, and the resurrection of a people."

Yet the press in Berlin and Vienna are firm in their belief that never again will the conquered territory come under the Russian rule. They say three things and these only can happen: (1) Conquered territory annexed and ruled as was Alsace-Lorraine. (2) Polish Kingdom as the German kingdoms. (3) Complete autonomous kingdom as a barrier between the Teuton and Muscovite. But Polish autonomy as Berlin sees it is only a dream. Bethman-Hollweg in his speech in the Reichstag, August 19, 1915, said: "I do not imitate the glittering promises of our enemies"; and again: "The country occupied by us will be administered by us with the assistance of its own population."

Almost all the fighting done in the eastern front of Europe's battle ground has been in Poland and of this the greatest part has been in Russian Poland. Belgium had some means of protection and was at least fighting for her own country, but in Poland every battle numbered among its dead and wounded Poles on both sides, fighting not for their own country, but in both cases for an enemy. While the Germans made a desperate attack on France in an attempt to end the war at one blow, the Russian campaign began in such a large and successful scale that the German west front was vitally weakened, for she had to transfer two whole corps to the Russian frontier.

Russia had two tasks (1) To exercise pressure upon the German forces in East Prussia and compel Germany to recall troops from France. (2) To crush Austria before German victories in the west should free armies to take part in the eastern battles. From the very start all the fighting between Russia and the German-Austrian forces has been on original Polish soil. The westernmost town of Russian Poland is only a little over two hundred miles from Berlin with Posen the chief city of Prussian Poland on a direct line between them. If Russia were to attack Berlin it might be expected that she would thrust out here.

This, however, was not the case, for such an attack would have exposed her troops to German attacks on both flanks, north and south. Hence Russian mobilization was not based on Warsaw the center of Russian Poland, but Memel-Czernowitz, far behind this line. The first operations were thus not at Posen but towards Koenigsberg and Allenstein Prussia; and Lemberg, Austria. It was these invasions that only three weeks after the war had been de-

clared recalled the two whole corps from France. Their arrival routed and checked the Russian forces, defeating and driving them back in a "push" that did not stop until it had over-run the greater part of Poland, going many miles beyond the German-Russian border, and resulting in the capture of Warsaw almost reversing the geographical boundary of Russia from a thrust between Germany and Austria to one far into Russia. History records no retreat that even approaches this, for here were met the largest armies the world has ever seen. And under this rolling and rerolling the helpless people of Poland have suffered in the "blackest crime of a thousand years".

The Russian pressure on Lemberg in Galicia was likewise checked, with its left in the Carpathians and its right in Russian Poland south of Lublin, and its center striking Lemberg full on the front. During the first ten days of furious fighting the battle ended in Russian victory and Austrian disaster. They moved on to Halicz carried the Dniester by storm and hastened toward Przemysl the chief fortress of Galicia. In the fall of Lemberg September 1, 1914; 80,000 Austrians were killed and 50,000 more wounded. Five of their eight corps were crushed. On September 16 Russia officially announced the capture of 250,000 Austrian troops, a third of the eastern army. And while France had demonstrated that her army was not that of Sedan, Austria was suffering in a like manner because she had loaned two of her corps to Germany who had to recall them but not before Russia had performed both tasks beyond the expectation of the allies; for she not only crushed Austria's military strength but thus weakened the German offensive at the battle of Cambrai and

laid the foundation of her defeat at the Marne.

Up to this point, September 17, 1914, the Russian victories looked good in Galicia, and altho she had been badly beaten in East Prussia there seemed to be some chance of Poland's again coming under the protection of one instead of three masters. Had Russian victories continued, and the autonomy promised by the Czar to Poland been kept as her allies said should be, there would not have been the terrible suffering Poland was to undergo shortly following.

Until the last week of September the Russian army stood behind the Niemen, where they resisted German attack and again taking the offensive won the Battle of Auzustovo reaching the Russian frontier again October 10, where the Germans were checked and held as firmly as the French were holding them along the Aisne. In the Carpathian Mountains all thru September Russian troops had been successful, capturing Joroslav passing the San, and investing Przemszl and by October 1, were before Tornow, less than fifty miles from Cracow still driving the defeated Austrian army before them, while the Cossacks had meanwhile swept down on to the Hungarian Plain spreading ruin and panic.

About this time from their bases in Posen and Breslau the Germans launched, under Hindenburg who knew the Russian marsh country well, a terrific blow against the Russian center and drove them back into Poland against Warsaw and behind the Vistula south to Ivangorod. This was known as the "Battle of the Vistula". The result was the retreat of the Russian center and left while the Cracow drive was abandoned and the first conquered territory relinquished. Thus in one blow the march against Berlin was crushed by the German offensive. The war-wasted country made by this attack

and general counter-attack with winter arriving is responsible for a large part of the suffering in Poland. Reports of the distress of the helpless civilians are unparalleled in their ghastliness by even the darkest descriptions of Belgium.

By September 1, a year later, nine provinces of Poland were in the hands of the enemy excepting a few isolated positions on the Niemen and west of the river like Grodno. Also the greater part of the provinces of Courland and Kovno were overrun and the Austro-German armies were pressing forward into the provinces of Valhynia and Grodno. Only along a narrow strip of Galicia east of the Zlata Lipa River did Russian armies stand on foreign soil and a retreat was known to be a matter of a few days. The Russian armies were thus driven from the heights of the Carpathians and Russian frontier was close to the borders of old Russia before the second partition of Poland in 1795. The campaign thru which this was accomplished far sweep of operations and armies engaged, has no parallel in military history.

Going back to the middle of April 1915 we find the climax of Russian efforts and a deadlock in Poland, at Poland's expense, which lasted for months. The battle line ran close to the Prussian frontier in the Niemen region, swung further into Russian-Polish territory north of the Vistula, crossed that river at the confluence of the Bzura, followed that stream, the Rawka, the Pilico, the Nida, and the Dunajec, in an almost straight line down to the Carpathians. The northern passes were held by the Russians and during the early spring there was continuous fighting here. The center of the fighting was around Uzsak Pass. Holding this the Russians could accomplish much, and in one place they penetrated twenty miles into

Hungary. Around Uzsak therefore the Austro-Germano efforts were redoubled and in the third week of April their great offensive broke the Russian stand. However they did not continue along here as might have been expected, but hit the center of the line from the Baltic to the Pruth, namely, on the Dunajec front to the east of Cracow. This began with a bombardment about Tarnow and Galice. On May 1 the Russian line was broken and the Czar's Carpathian army taken in the flank and rear, much as Von Kluck had hoped and vainly tried to get between the French army and Paris at Cambrai; and similarly the way the Paris Garrison struck his own flank and rear while the French and British pushed back his front the moment his forces touched Provins.

Thus the Russian army in Poland was forced to begin its great and perilous retreat. Tens of thousands of prisoners were taken, but the surprising thing is that the army escaped at all, a feat due to Russian generalship that would do credit the highest of German military genius.

On June 22 Lemberg was retaken by Von Mackensen and his southern armies, one of the three main divisions of the eastern Teutonic forces. They had advanced 220 miles thru Galicia to the San in four months, measured on a straight line from Dunajec and the Carpathians to the other side of the Bug. Yet his has been quoted as having been the slowest of the three groups, due probably to the fact that he had the best Russian troops opposed to him, and being in a large way composed of Austrian forces.

The German armies of the north did not experience the setbacks met by Von Mackensen's armies at the Dniester and about Lublin. In late June the Von Hindenburg division began other operations

against Courland. They captured Przasnysz July 15, and from this city to the Warsaw-Petrograd railway they advanced some eighty miles. Had he waited to reduce the line of fortresses along the Niemen he would not have made such swift progress, but he swept past such places as Babr and the Nareiv from Kovno to Novoglogievsk, leaving Sierock a fortified town to protect its rear, far behind; going thru the Russian second line of defense toward Brest-Litovsk the western issue from the marshes of the Pripet. Thus he saw at once the disadvantage of the Vistula line of fortresses and easily turned them from the rear.

Last of the three offensive movements was that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria. For six months his armies had camped along the Bzura and the Rowka, and when the wings of the Russian army were driven back, the German center moved. It moved the fastest of the three great divisions. Warsaw fell August 5, and from there it continued to Karnienetz-Litovsk, having covered more than one hundred and fifty miles in three weeks. And when Ivangorod fell and the Vistula was crossed, General Von Hindenburg, Prince Leopold and General Mackensen joined for their final combined effort - to completely destroy the Russian armies, - the largest armies the world has ever seen. This, however, they failed to do and so far they have only held the taken soil.

Thus the first few months of the Great War in Poland saw the Russian offensive succeed and fail in defeat and retreat but not annihilation. It must be remembered that every mile thru which the gigantic armies pushed meant death and destruction to thousands of non-combatants. Every burned village or captured city meant shedding of Polish blood, for numerous Poles were in these armies

both defensive and offensive, and were not only fighting for their enemies and killing each other, but were obliged to destroy the lands and homes of their own people.

A glimpse at "Fragments from an Officer's Diary in Southern Poland", says: "Driving on the road to Lublin, Rodom and Kielce, everywhere right up to the enemy's front you see the same typical scenes of war. The Germans expected to be met with out-stretched hands of welcome by the populace, hence few atrocities were committed at first. But when hope to gain their confidence, and efforts to have them break all ties that bound them to Russia failed, their wrath knew no bounds. Then again were the acts of cruelty no less than those in France and Belgium, but on a vastly larger scale, were they visited upon the inhabitants. Then again the Germans thought that their mercy had been a mistake, that they had miscalculated its results and the spirit of revenge and hitherto miscalculated cruelty awakened in them. They began to steal from and torture the peasants, burned homesteads, robbed whenever they could. They trod mercilessly underfoot, dispoiling, annihilating, destroying everything they saw. They even tore out the time honored crucifixes at the cross-roads and at entrances to villages; a Polish religious custom. This sacred emblem of our Lord's suffering is respected, as a rule, by all Christians, even if not belonging to the Catholic faith. If the destruction of Rheims Cathedral was truthfully justified as due to the presence of cannon on the towers, what explanation can the Germans give of the damage caused by them to this symbolical monument of religion on a country road? But Poland still survives. There has been

much sorrow, much anguish, many privations, but the fidelity of the nation has not been extinguished."

More than five hundred towns by December 24, 1914, according to "The Nation" were reported destroyed in the course of the heavy fighting which surged back and forth across Poland; and a year later that number was raised to fifteen hundred, and it was stated that in some communities not a Polish child under seven years of age was alive. The distress of these thousands of helpless civilians has so impressed their compatriot and sympathizing friends that a Polish Relief Committee has been organized of which Madame Marcella Sembrich is president. Later other organizations were organized under the direction of Paderewski and Sienkewicz, but their efforts were in a large way stopped by the temporary action of England who opposed food and supplies being sent in to Poland on the ground that it would be confiscated by German military authorities for army use. Princess Bariatinsky who administered money subscribed in England for the Polish Fund seems however in her powerful lecture to contradict such action on the part of the Germans. Whatever the facts in Germany may be, it is certain that England is responsible for a large part of the suffering and starvation in Poland thru these measures.

No wonder the Poles adopt for their watchword: "WE WANT ONLY ONE THING - THE POLISH STATE WITHOUT GUARDIANSHIP FROM ANY SIDE." Or chant as they have done on bended knee during their years of struggle:

"So long as we can live and sigh,
Our well-loved Poland cannot die!"

HYMN OF THE POLISH EXILES

God! Scorched by battle fires we stand
Before Thee on Thy throne of snows;
But, Father in this silent land,
We seek no refuge nor repose;
We ask, and shall not ask in vain,-
"Give us our heritage again!"

Thy winds are ice-bound in the sea;
Thine eagle cowers till storms are past;
Lord! When those moaning winds are free,
When eagles mount upon the blast,
O breathe upon our icy chain,
And float our Poland's flag again!

'Twas for Thy cause we once were strong;
Thou wilt not doom that cause to death!
O God, our struggle has been long;
Thou wilt not quench our glimmering faith!
Thou hear'st the murmurs of our pain,-
"Give us our heritage again!"

Harriet Martineau.

VI.

PEACE THROUGH POLAND

PEACE THROUGH POLAND.

War is a cross that burdens the innocent. Throughout the ages the destructive passions of man have harassed his weak and helpless neighbor. In sight of the glorious harmonies of nature, the cruel blows of Cain struck down a brother and sprinkled with blood the first altar of peace. In sight of the door of sacred synagogue the proud Pharisees stoned to death the first martyrs of peace. In sight of his very Maker the despicable passions of man led him to crucify the Prince of Peace. The people who have pursued the arts of peace, who have had no thought but to help their fellow men have suffered the insult and oppression of their powerful neighbors..

So it has been throughout the history of the world, both in the case of individuals and nations. The unoffensive bystander bears the burdens of his aggressive neighbors. Weak nations, as weak individuals, pay the price of war. The Hundred Years War slaughtered the peasant class of Europe - they paid the price of that war. The terrible Thirty Years War of Germany starved half her women and children - they paid the price of that war. Two decades of Napoleonic warfare, decimated France, impoverished Europe, annihilated weaker peoples - they paid the price of that war. History records no war in which the innocent do not pay, in land, or country; or blood, or the right to exist. Through war England enslaved the pious Hindus of India. Through war Great Britain wrested South Africa from the peaceful Boers, destroyed their goods, starved their families, and with the bayonet forced her brave defenders to relinquish their homes. Through war Russia crushed helpless Finland and dismembered hopeful Persia. Through

war Turkey massacred Crete, butchered Armenia, devastated Albania. Through today's gigantic war Serbia is prostrated, Roumania trampled, Greece starved, Belgium destroyed. But the greatest sufferer in this greatest of all wars is Poland, who pays the ghastly price in country and home, in the blood of her sons and daughters, in her utter destruction -- the blackest crime of the ages. Never in the realm of human annals has there been a more tragic example of the results of war -- the oppression of the innocent -- than is found in the story of Poland.

Turn back with me the pages of history to the year 1771. Look at the map of Europe. What do we see? We see the happy land of Poland, an area whose recognized boundaries include more land than that of England, or France, or Germany. We see the geographical center of Europe, a pivot to nineteen other countries. We see the heart of Eastern trade, and the store-house of Eastern agriculture. We see a land without the natural barriers of mountain or ocean, yet a land that keeps peace in the midst of international strife; a country whose constitutional government opposed war yet a country who at the same time aided America in gaining her freedom through Pulaski and Kosciuszko; a people who opened their doors of religious tolerance to the oppressed, yet a people who shed their life-blood in defense of Christianity against Mohammedan invasion. Yes, and more. We see the seat of European education and art. We see the birthplace of a great astronomer, Copernicus; of a valiant patriot, Sobieski; of an inspired musician, Chopin. Well might the world have called Poland "Knight among Nations," guardian of European peace.

But the peace that Poland kept was all too soon destroyed. Again must the innocent pay for the wrongs of others; again must

they pay the price of war. The brute force of military ambition took advantage of a weaker people; for Russia, Germany, and Austria, each stronger than Poland, combined against her. They stretched forth their mailed and bloody fists to spoil that happy land, to enslave a people, to seize its goods, to abuse its cherished history. Austria repaid Poland for Sobieski's valiant defense at Vienna, for his heroic struggle for mankind against the invading Turk that for centuries threatened all Europe, -- repaid Poland with what? -- With the torch and sword. Russia's greed for territory, her barbarous exploitation, must be satisfied, -- and how? By crushing Polish people, by separating Polish families to fill Siberian mines, by dragging Polish culture to dark and unknown prisons. Prussia forgot Poland's music, and science, and literature. Why? Because with her crushing hand of militarism she sought to subdue a people that might be assimilated by German colonization, -- crime against humanity and the world. These nations embraced the doctrine of war and used its force to torture a helpless country. They enacted again on a larger scale the story of India and South Africa. Through the doctrine of war they opened the flood-gates of passion and greed, engulfing a weaker, unoffending nation in untold agony. Through the doctrine of war they trampled Poland in the dust, sacrificed her dearest affections, burned her villages, slaughtered her men, abused her women, starved her children.

I see before me an unfortunate creature; no artist could paint her countenance, no pen portray those lines of sorrow and despair. Her eyes are fixed in stolid glare upon a dying babe. Her head is bowed, and her shoulders bent, her tattered rags

reveal a sunken breast. The famished child wants food, but she has only tears to give, and soon the icy wind will stop those tears, and the white snow form a blanket of eternal warmth. Look,-- once a sheltered home-- a hut is smouldering in ruins. Look again,-- ever on and on, other and others, silent, smouldering and mingling with the snow flakes. Across the plain I see a myriad of flaming homes, of weeping mothers and dying babes, of ruined churches, wrecked factories; a multitude of towns, a thousand cities, twenty million souls,-- like the countless snowflakes that hover above them. And on this tragic plain I see the foot-prints of two armies vanishing beyond the gray horizon. That mother's husband was in one army, her father in the other. Each fought for an enemy, and bled and died, they killed each other -- there they lie -- Russian saber, Prussian helmet, and Polish upturned faces!

Such is the grim effect of war on weak and unoffending nations. The cry of peace is but their plea for mercy and Justice. It is the voice of oppressed Polands that condemn war and its doctrine of brute force -- condemn it for the sorrow and suffering it causes the helpless, for the merciless persecution of the weak; for the enslaving of India, for the destruction of South Africa, for the waste of Belgium, for the abduction of Finland, for the partition of Persia, for the massacre of Crete, for the slaughter of Armenia, for the blackest crime in a thousand years, the annihilation of Poland.- It is the Polands of the world, who have suffered in past wars, who suffer today in the Great War of the Nations, who will continue to suffer as long as man's passions are licensed by war. It is the Polands of the world who without reward carry the burdens of war, who have none to acknowledge their heroism, no iron cross

upon their breasts, no music to lighten their painful steps, no outstretched hand of charity. It is they who show the tragic effects of war to the world, who tear down wars hideous curtain exposing its real delusion. It is the Polands of the world, whose miserable lives portray the depths of human sorrow and suffering, whose unhappy existence decrys war's desolation, whose death is forgotten, unpraised, unhonored, and unsung. Oh, the pity of war, its injustice, to the weak and innocent! All the arguments for war's base doctrine do not take account of, do not atone for the suffering of the Polands it has made. The argument of war is voiceless in this its effect on Poland and the world. Then the grim-visaged story of war becomes a plague to all mankind, the panders to man's basest instincts, that seduces the pure, that maddens the sane, that dishonors the honorable, that "at last biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder."

Today's page of history is being written in the blood of innocent Polands, and sealed by the God of War. What is done cannot be undone. But there is a power today that can break that seal of iron and stop that flow of innocent blood. There is a country that can take the first step toward peace by helping to remove that burden of oppression, by aiding the weak and down-trodden countries, the suffering Polands in their present time of utmost need; by showing a true spirit of goodwill in this Twentieth century of progress and enlightenment; by immediate action to help the suffering millions, and then by starting a movement for a peace that cannot be broken,-- a peace that cannot be broken by tragedies of future Polands.

America can aid the greatest sufferer in the greatest of all wars - Poland. She can grasp an opportunity to bring about a

real peace. Then let the answer to oppressed Poland be Justice, and America, let the answer to a crushed peace be Just ^{ice} through America. Food for the famished, clothes for the naked, seed for the farmer! Help mothers to give their children something more than tears, Let commerce send a hundred ships to Poland. Let Science have a hundred thousand recruits for Justice. Let education have a hundred million voices for Peace. Let America, the land of Justice and Peace, extend the first hand of aid.

And when her aid has fed the starving millions, -- made so by war; and clothed the naked millions, made so by war; and relieved the dying millions, dying from the effects of war;-- when immediate danger of complete annihilation of Poland is past; -- then let our country through its mighty influence propose terms of an everlasting peace. Let America take a step towards international protection, through an international Court of Justice, through which that already taken from the innocent, shall be restored to its rightful owners, through which restitution shall be made possible to those who have suffered from the false doctrine of war,-- to the weak and unoffensive, to the Polands of the world. Let America aid in establishing this international Court of Justice which shall guarantee the right of every nation throughout future years, through which the voice of the weak shall be heard, through which war can never again be licensed to crush Belgium enslave India, or destroy Poland, through which the combined forces of the world shall cooperate to administer fair play to all - strong and weak alike.

Then shall come a real and lasting peace. Then shall the cross of war cease to be a burden upon the innocent, then shall the weak and strong alike, England and India, Belgium, Germany, Poland and

America, unite in the common bond of brotherhood, and by the blessing of God live in peace and joy and happiness forever.

"POLAND AND FREEDOM AGAIN"

Arise! Men of Poland, arise in your night
For you morning breaks, 'tis the end of your night;
'Twas but for a season Hope bade you farewell,
Now freedom's brightdawn bids you wake from your spell.
The world shall know 'tis a rising of men,
When Poland awakens to freedom again.
Let the Prussian hound feel the power of your blow;
Set your heel on the neck of the Austrian foe,
Vile cur! Cruel serpent! To both make it plain
That Poland has wakened to freedom again.
They shall know as they come and writhe in their pain
That Poland has wakened to freedom again.
Kosciusko shall look from the land of the shades,
And rejoice that the flower of your valour ne'er fades;
With Campbell shall joy in the spirit to see
That Poland again is a land of the free.
Let the thought nerve your arms as ye add to the slain,
Be your battle cry, Poland and freedom again!
.....
As the new era dawns awake from your spell,
To give future ages the lessons to tell;
They ne'er can be slaves who cherish like thee,
The hopes of the brave, the hearts of the free.
You shall conquer by right, you shall quit ye like men,
To the battle cry, Poland and freedom again!

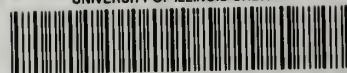
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